

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXIII

(September 12, 1940–April 15, 1941)

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PREFACE

This volume opens with the resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. at Bombay declaring that the Government's policy of suppressing free expression of public opinion against India's participation in the war was "imposing upon the Congress a struggle for the preservation of the honour and the elementary rights of the people" and requesting Gandhiji to guide it in the action to be taken (p. 2). Before embarking on any action, Gandhiji sought an interview with the Viceroy and met him at Simla on September 27. "The Viceroy was all courtesy, but he was unbending," Gandhiji said (p. 75). On October 17 Vinoba Bhave offered civil disobedience as the first satyagrahi and was arrested on the 21st. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was to be the second satyagrahi, was arrested on the 31st before he could formally offer disobedience and was sentenced to four years' imprisonment. This provocative action, despite the assurance in the A.I.C.C. resolution that the Congress had no intention "to extend non-violent resistance . . . beyond what is required for the preservation of the liberties of the people" (p. 2), forced Gandhiji to extend the scope of the civil disobedience to include members of the Working Committee, the A.I.C.C. and the Central and Provincial Legislatures (p. 163), and after the arrest of the Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on January 3, 1941, it was further extended and all representative Congressmen from members of the village committees to those of the provincial Committees were expected to be in jail. The ultimate idea was "for every Congressman to act on his own and be his own president but nobody else's", this being Gandhiji's concept of "a completely non-violent institution or society" (p. 282).

The civil disobedience was restricted to the single issue of freedom of speech, "the right to preach against war as war or participation in the present war" (p. 106). For the Congress leaders it was primarily a political issue. The British Government having rejected the Congress offer of conditional co-operation (*vide* Vol. LXXI), the Congress insisted on the people's right to refuse to participate in a war "for saving imperialism" into which they had been dragged without their consent. The British Government claimed that the help they got from the country was voluntary, but, as C. Rajagopalachari pointed out,

the claim could be justified only if the right to preach non-participation was respected (p. 57). Gandhiji had repeatedly stated that he would do nothing to embarrass the British Government, but "this self-imposed restraint", he explained in the Bombay resolution, could not "be taken to the extent of self-extinction" (p. 2). "Freedom of speech and pen," Gandhiji argued at the A.I.C.C. meeting, "is the foundation of swaraj. If the foundation-stone is in danger, you have to exert the whole of your might in order to defend that single stone" (p. 21). The British Government might get such help as it could from the Princes, the zamindars and the rich, but, Gandhiji pleaded, "let our voice also be heard." The Government would then be able to claim with honour that they were playing the game in India (p. 19).

However, for Gandhiji much more was involved than the political issue. Repelled by the "indecent savagery . . . being perpetrated by the warring nations of Europe", he demanded freedom of "propagating non-violence as a substitute for war" (pp. 34-5). Liberty and democracy, he asserted, "become unholy when their hands are dyed red with innocent blood", for, he asked, "What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans and the homeless whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty and democracy?" He felt confident that God had made him "the instrument of showing the better way" (p. 53). "Who knows," he wrote in *Harijan* announcing the plan for individual civil disobedience by Vinoba Bhave, "that I shall not be an instrument for bringing about peace not only between Britain and India but also between the warring nations of the earth" (p. 107). Hitlerism, Gandhiji was convinced, could not be defeated except by the method of non-violence (p. 209). He held to his faith "in the possibility of the most debased human nature to respond to non-violence" (p. 321), and acting on that faith Gandhiji even addressed an open letter to Hitler (which, like Gandhiji's previous letter to him of July 23, 1939, was suppressed by the Government of India), appealing to him "in the name of humanity to stop the war" and agree to refer the matters of dispute to an international tribunal of joint choice. The appeal was made, as Gandhiji said, on behalf of "the millions of Europeans whose dumb cry for peace" he heard, for his ears were "attuned to hearing the dumb millions" (p. 255). Gandhiji was convinced that in acting out his faith in non-violence, he was serving India, Britain and humanity. He

declared, "I do not wish well to India at the expense of Britain as I do not wish well to Britain at the expense of Germany. Hitlers will come and go. Those who believe that when the Fuhrer dies or is defeated his spirit will die, err grievously. What matters is how we react to such a spirit, violently or non-violently. If we react violently, we feed that evil spirit. If we act non-violently, we sterilize it" (p. 324).

For Gandhiji, therefore, the national movement for political freedom was a moral movement of world significance for demonstrating the power of non-violence, and he tried to carry the Congress with him on this question. In June-July the Congress had released Gandhiji from its leadership on the issue of renouncing violence even for the defence of the country (*vide* Vol. LXXII), but a compromise was now reached and he persuaded the A.I.C.C. to declare in the Bombay resolution its belief "in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for swaraj but also in so far as this may be possible of application in free India". What he demanded for the Congress was therefore "the fullest freedom to pursue its policy based on non-violence" and "to grow in non-violence" (pp. 2 and 323). Gandhiji himself was growing in his understanding of non-violence. He had now a deeper insight into the nature of satyagraha, which, he said, "is independent of Press advertisement" and, if real, "carries with it its own momentum . . . thought deliberately thought and controlled is a power greater than speech or writing . . ." (pp. 125-6). To Jawaharlal Nehru also he wrote, "Whilst I would make use of every legitimate method of seeking publicity for our programme, my reliance is on regulated thought producing its own effect", and wanted to be "allowed to go" his "way in demonstrating the power of non-violence when it is unadulterated" (p. 127).

The contemplated struggle was to be an expression of such unadulterated non-violence. Gandhiji did not know what form it would take. There was "impenetrable darkness" before him, he told the A.I.C.C. meeting, "regarding the future course of action" and he would do "better and clearer thinking in Sevagram" where, he said, he had built up an atmosphere for his growth (pp. 20-1). In any case, he told the meeting, there was to be no mass civil disobedience, for he "would not be guilty of embarrassing the British people or the British Government when their very existence hung in the balance" (p. 15). Even after some direct action seemed to have become inevitable following the failure of his meeting with the Viceroy, Gandhiji

advised intending satyagrahis to remember that there was "to be no civil disobedience, direct or indirect", and told them: "Any breach of this will weaken the cause because it will unnerve your general who is susceptible to the slightest indiscipline" (p. 74). He wished, he told a correspondent, "to demonstrate on this occasion total ahimsa" as he had "visualized it" and did not, therefore, "intend to send more than two or three persons" to jail (pp. 134-5). Writing to the Viceroy also he explained that he "was taking extraordinary precautions to ensure non-violence, and . . . to that end . . . was restricting the movement to the fewest possible typical individuals" (p. 138).

To start with, Gandhiji decided on Vinoba Bhave as the only satyagrahi for the time being, and the latter was so to conduct his disobedience "as to exclude others directly or indirectly". The idea was, Gandhiji explained, "to make all action as strictly non-violent as is humanly possible". Even one man's non-violent action might be enough, for "while the effect of a given violent action can be reduced to mathematical terms, that of non-violent action defies all calculation . . ." (p. 103). Vinoba was a Sanskrit scholar who had joined the Ashram at Ahmedabad almost at its inception and remained faithful to its ideals, taking part in every menial activity of the Ashram from cooking to scavenging. He had shared Gandhiji's passionate belief in communal unity and he had also taken active part in every item of the constructive programmes sponsored by Gandhiji from time to time. He was, therefore, fit to be the first soldier of what Gandhiji believed might be "the last civil disobedience" he would conduct and which he wanted "to be as flawless" as it could be (p. 105). Vinoba fully justified Gandhiji's expectation. His addresses were from "the highest plane" and his implementation of Gandhiji's instructions was "an education in courteous and non-violent conduct" (p. 115).

Gandhiji provided similar education in his dealings with the Government and the Viceroy. Not only did he refrain from offering civil disobedience himself, for his imprisonment might "cause greater embarrassment to the authorities than anything else the Congress can do" (p. 106), but he also maintained the friendliest tone in his correspondence with the Viceroy. He publicly stated that the Viceroy and he had become friends never to be parted however great their differences (p. 78). The Viceroy seems to have shared this sentiment and greatly regretted, as he said, the conflict of views between Gandhiji and the Government (pp, 73 and 456). Thanks to this personal relationship

with the Viceroy, when the Government advised the *Harijan* weeklies, along with other publications, not to publish any report of Vinoba's speeches or of the progress of civil disobedience without previous reference to the Chief Press Adviser, Gandhiji accepted the Viceroy's "verdict", and suspended the publication of the weeklies instead of disregarding the advice and inviting prosecution, describing his self-restraint as an "object-lesson . . . in satyagraha" (pp. 124-5, 139 and 140). And likewise, when the Government refused clearence to Gandhiji's open letter to Hitler, he co-operated with the Government, though under protest, in preventing its publication as "an earnest" of his "desire not to embarrass authority" (p. 287). The Government, too, Gandhiji admitted to G. D. Birla, was on the whole "fighting in a gentlemanly way" (p. 245).

When, after Nehru's arrest, it was decided to extend the scope of civil disobedience, Gandhiji gave detailed instructions to satyagrahis in order to keep the movement on the highest level and prevent it "from lapsing into mass civil disobedience". He himself was to finalize the selection of satyagrahis. Every satyagrahi was to inform the District Magistrate of the time, place and manner of his satyagraha. Meetings and demonstrations in cities were to be avoided, and even in villages, the recommended method was for the satyagrahi to repeat a standard slogan to passers-by as he walked on in a particular direction until he was arrested. The slogan was: "It is wrong to help the British war effort with men or money. The only worthy effort is to resist all war with non-violent resistance" (p. 157). Gandhiji had always attached the highest importance to constructive work as an essential aspect of satyagraha and now, with the civil disobedience part of it kept to the minimum required by the situation, it acquired even greater importance than before. Gandhiji, therefore, invited the "full-hearted co-operation" of the whole country in the movement through "ceaseless prosecution of the constructive programme" which meant, in essence, "an increasing sense of justice in every walk of life". "Unless rock-bottom justice and equality pervade society," he urged, there could be "no non-violent atmosphere" (p. 105). Civil resistance could be "effective only when it was backed by constructive effort on a mass scale" and such work, therefore, was "obligatory on all who belong to a non-violent organization" (p. 388). For the satyagrahi, constructive work was "what arms are for the violent men" (p. 36). The Independence Day pledge was, therefore, amended and a paragraph was added calling

upon all Indians, Congressmen or others. "to concentrate with redoubled zeal on the constructive programme" (p. 279).

Among the letters in this volume is one to Subhas Chandra Bose who had suggested his Forward Bloc joining the civil disobedience. In view of the policy differences between Gandhiji and Bose, that was not possible, but meanwhile, said Gandhiji, "let us love one another, remaining members of the same family that we are" (p. 264). A difference of view had developed with Purushottamdas Tandon over the policy of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan which had abandoned Gandhiji's line on the question of Hindi-Urdu. Gandhiji explained his dilemma to Tandon: "If I stay in the Sammelan, I become a partner in retrogression. If I leave, I may probably become the root cause of dissension" (p. 274). A Muslim research scholar of Aligarh University had objected to Gandhiji's citing the Koran in support of non-violence on the ground of his being a non-Muslim. "It will be an evil day," Gandhiji replied, "if the reading and interpreting of religious books are to be confined only to those who wear particular religious labels" (p. 51). To Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council, who had suggested that Gandhiji should "address a manifesto to the people of India stating his own position . . . and then be quiet", Gandhiji replied: ". . . the only way satyagraha works is by a continuous discovery of truth and action based on it." He was not, Gandhiji added, a preacher, but was "essentially a man of action and a reformer carrying on an experiment never before tried in the political field" (p. 208). It was as a man of action that Gandhiji wrote to another correspondent: "Unregulated sentiment is waste like unharnessed steam" (p. 426). Putting up with the temper of other people was not always a virtue in Gandhiji's view. If as a result of it one's "fearlessness goes on increasing, it is ahimsa, otherwise it is cowardice" (p. 392).

Describing his own daily experience, Gandhiji wrote to a correspondent: "When Ramanama becomes as natural as breathing, it does not obstruct but helps other work, just as the tune of the *tambura* sustains other tunes" (p. 251).

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors, quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

Where an item has no date in the source, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the January 1969 edition and those to Volume II are to the October 1976 edition.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. for documents available in the Gandhi National Museum and Library (Rashtriya Gandhi Sangrahalaya), New Delhi; M.M.U. for the reels of the Mobile Microfilm Unit and S.G. for the documents of the Sevagram collection, which also are available in the Rashtriya Gandhi Sangrahalaya. C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

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newspapers and journals: *Bhavnagar Samachar*, *The Bombay Chronicle*, *The Free Press Journal*, *Harijan*, *Harijan Sevak*, *Harijanbandhu*, *The Hindu*, *The Hindustan Times*, *The Hitavada*, *The Leader*, *Report of the Vikasgriha*, *Sarvodaya*, *The Times of India*, *Two Years of Work*.

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CONTENTS

1. ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE RESOLUTION

[*September 15, 1940*][1]

The All-India Congress Committee has given its careful attention to the events that have taken place since its last meeting held in Poona on July 27, 1940, and to the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Wardha in August last.[2] The Committee approves of and endorses these resolutions.

In order to end the deadlock in India and to promote the national cause, in co-operation with the British people, the Working Committee, even at the sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi's co-operation, made a proposal to the British Government in their Delhi resolution of July 7, which was subsequently approved by the A. I. C. C.[3] at Poona. This proposal was rejected by the British Government in a manner which left no doubt that they had no intention to recognize India's independence, and would, if they could, continue to hold this country indefinitely in bondage for British exploitation. This decision of the British Government shows that they will impose their will upon India, and their recent policy has further shown that they will not even tolerate free expression of public opinion in condemnation of their associating India in the war against Germany,

[1] The resolution, drafted by Gandhiji (*vide* pp. 11-2) and moved by Jawaharlal Nehru on this date, was passed on September 16.

[2] On August 21, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution (*vide* Vol. LXXII, Appendix VIII) on the Viceroy's declaration (*vide* Vol. LXXII, Appendix VII) of August 8, suggesting expansion of Governor's Executive Council and establishment of a War Advisory Council. The Viceroy also stated that soon after the war they would set up "a body of representatives of principal elements in India's national life" to frame the new Constitution. He added that "they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life." The Working Committee resolved that the Viceroy's offer not only did not fulfil the Congress demand but also blocked the way of achieving freedom.

[3] The A. I. C. C., which met at Poona from July 25 to 28, ratified the Working Committee resolution demanding independence and a national ministry at the Centre and explained, "how, while the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in the struggle for independence, it was unable, in the present circumstances, to declare that the principle should be extended to India's national defence". For the text of the Delhi resolution and Gandhiji's comments on it, *vide* Vol. LXXII, pp. 255-7.

against the will of a vast body of the people of India, and of exploiting her national resources and manpower for this purpose.

The All-India Congress Committee cannot submit to a policy which is a denial of India's natural right to freedom, which suppresses the free expression of public opinion and which could lead to the degradation of her people and their continued enslavement. By following this policy the British Government have created an intolerable situation, and are imposing upon the Congress a struggle for the preservation of the honour and the elementary rights of the people. The Congress is pledged under Gandhiji's leadership to non-violence for the vindication of India's freedom. At this grave crisis in the movement for national freedom, the All-India Congress Committee, therefore, requests him to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. The Delhi resolution, confirmed by the A.I.C.C. at Poona, which prevented him from so doing, no longer applies. It has lapsed.

The A.I.C.C. sympathizes with the British people as well as the peoples of all other countries involved in the war. Congressmen cannot withhold their admiration for the bravery and endurance shown by the British nation in the face of danger and peril. They can have no ill will against them, and the spirit of satyagraha forbids the Congress from doing anything with a view to embarrass them. But this self-imposed restraint cannot be taken to the extent of self-extinction. The Congress must insist on the fullest freedom to pursue its policy based on non-violence. The Congress has, however, no desire at the present moment to extend non-violent resistance, should this become necessary, beyond what is required for the preservation of the liberties of the people.

In view of certain misapprehensions that have arisen in regard to the Congress policy of non-violence, the A.I.C.C. desires to state this afresh and to make it clear that this policy continues, notwithstanding anything contained in previous resolutions which may have led to these misapprehensions. This Committee firmly believes in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for swaraj but also in so far as this may be possible of application in free India. The Committee is convinced, and recent world events have demonstrated, that complete world disarmament is necessary, and the establishment of a new and juster political and economic order, if the world is not to destroy itself and revert to barbarism. A free India will, therefore, throw all her weight in favour of world disarmament and should herself be prepared to give a lead in this to the world. Such lead will inevitably depend on external factors and internal conditions, but the State would do its utmost to give

effect to this policy of disarmament. Effective disarmament and the establishment of world peace by the ending of national wars, depend ultimately on the removal of the causes of wars and national conflicts. These causes must be rooted out by the ending of the domination of one country over another and the exploitation of one people or group by another. To that end India will peacefully labour, and it is with this objective in view that the people of India desire to attain the status of a free and independent nation. Such freedom will be the prelude to the close association with other countries within a comity of free nations for the peace and progress of the world.

Harijan, 22-9-1940

2. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

BOMBAY,
September 15, 1940

MY DEAR AMRIT,

I am writing this in the A.I.C.C. meeting. My heart is there, though the body is here. Your being there eases my mind. Your reports are good and business-like. I hope the typhoid case is progressing as it should. I have talked exhaustively to Dinshaw[1] about Sarala Devi[2]. He is firmly of opinion that, if she is to be cured by nature treatment, she should put herself under his care. He is ready to take charge of her whenever she can go to Poona. If she will not go, he is of opinion that she will not be cured except by quinine taken under observation. The spleen must be reduced. She ought not to trifle with her body. Please read this to her. If she decides to go to Dinshaw she should do so at once. Let her not think of his bill. If she will not, she should go to the Civil Hospital and get definitely cured. No false modesty should deter her from taking the course which commends itself to her.

I am afraid I cannot leave before Tuesday. You may expect us therefore on Wednesday.

Of the political situation, you will learn from Mahadev and the papers.

Though the work is heavy, I am bearing the strain well. God be thanked. I am glad Shummy's[3] condition has not meant your going to Simla.

[1] Dr. Dinshaw K. Mehta of Nature-cure Clinic, Poona

[2] Sarala Devi Chowdhurani

[3] Lt. Col. Shumshere Singh, the addressee's brother, a retired surgeon

I hope you are not feeling the want of a Simla servant's presence for your minimum comfort.

I take it Sharda[1] and her mother[2] have arrived there and that she and the baby[3] are well.

I am glad Parachure Shastri[4] is doing well and so is Akbar[5].

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3994. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7303

3. *MESSAGE TO MILL-HANDS*

September 15, 1940

What need I tell the workers by way of recommending khadi to them? If they have still not understood that for them khadi is the strength of the weak, a source of sustenance during strikes and the best means of preserving their self-respect, what more is there for me to say? Then it is a sad thing.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan M. Desai

4. *SPEECH AT A. I. C. C. MEETING, BOMBAY-1*

September 15, 1940

I told Maulana Saheb[6] that the resolution[7] before you was of such a nature that he would have to let me speak on it right away, so that before anyone else spoke on it I could explain in my own words how I interpreted it, why at death's door as I was I had taken upon myself this responsibility and what I expected of you.

[1] Sharda G. Chokhawala

[2] Shakaribehn C. Shah

[3] Anand G. Chokhawala

[4] A leprosy patient who came to Sevagram in November 1939 and stayed there till his death on September 5, 1945

[5] Akbarbhai Chawda

[6] Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President

[7] *Vide* pp. 1-3.

A general discussion could come afterwards. Maulana Saheb and the other members of the Working Committee acceded to my request. I have had to bear many heavy responsibilities in my life but I feel that the responsibility I am today called upon to bear is the heaviest. I have assumed this responsibility with due deliberation. But I must confess that I am besieged by a doubt, I cannot say why, as to how far I shall be able to carry you with me. As to what the upshot will be is quite beyond my telling. Still it is good. It is a lesson I have learnt during fifty years and more that a man should not worry about the end but should address himself only to the means. Herein lies the key to success. Truly we can think only of the means, which is the only thing in our hands. Nothing can interpose itself between us and our means. But who knows about the result? Who can tell whether I shall be able to go where I intend to go. So many obstructions in the way can frustrate me. There are hidden enemies inside myself, too. I shudder even when I think of all this. But it is enough for me that I know where I want to go and by which way. So I set out in the faith that if the path I have chosen is right, straight and true, my quest will lead me to the end I desire and no other. Behind this belief of mine is not only faith but also the accumulated experience of fifty years. Therefore, in assuming this responsibility, I am neither hampered by my hesitation nor subdued by my fear. Before getting into a boat there is scope for a thousand hesitations, fears and reflection. There is none after one is in the boat and the boat is in the stream.

Why then this fear in me? Why this hesitation? I have not the least bit of doubt as to the rightness of the way. What I am not so sure about is whether I shall be able to carry you with me, heart and soul. In the past I used to tour all over the country. Today I am no longer able to do that. Even if I wanted I would not be able to get around the way I used to. I must accept my limitations. I am not so much out of my mind as to forget that I am past seventy and go about thinking that I am fifty. So I confine myself to Sevagram and try to do what service I can from there. Even coming here to Bombay was a strain. But since there was this responsibility to shoulder there was no alternative. What I fear is that the relations that bound me to you at one time no longer obtain. Things change, they are changing today. The people that were in the Congress twenty years ago are not there today. Those who were old then are gone. Those who were young are no longer young.

As you know at Wardha, at my request, the Working Committee had exempted me. I had said that since I was no longer able to keep your hearts and minds with me it was better for me to keep

away from you for even after that I would be serving the Congress. They also felt that if I wanted to create something new I would not be able to do so by keeping them with me. We parted. But since then neither they have known any peace nor I. As to who was at fault no one quite seemed to know. Of course, as I have been saying again and again, man is an erring creature. We went on arguing. In the meanwhile came the Delhi resolution. The Congress made a simple and straightforward proposal to the Government. The Government refused to countenance it. I must confess that this rather pleased me. For I trembled at the very thought that the Congress which had been swearing by ahimsa for the last twenty years, the Congress which had given the call of ahimsa from thousands of platforms to the millions in the country, could take it upon itself to make the people give up ahimsa and cultivate war-mindedness. Has not the Congress, ever since the days of Khilafat and the Ali Brothers, repeated in season and out of season, with the beat of drums, that we seek to solve all questions—whether of the Khilafat or swaraj, whether national or international—only through non-violence and that if we have to resort to civil disobedience it will be purely non-violent? And notwithstanding the fact that our opponent is a Government that spends ten crores of rupees a day on arms and ammunition, we chose the path of peace and Muslims as well as Hindus all resorted only to non-violent action. You must remember that in the special session of the Congress at Calcutta the main resolution[1] was moved by me and it mentioned only the Khilafat and the Punjab murders and brutalities. "Where is swaraj in this?" asked Pandit Motilalji. In my view, swaraj was inherent in the two demands. If we had been successful in having them accepted, we would have automatically secured swaraj. Even so I accepted his suggestion. Ever since we have been saying that we shall destroy the empire through non-violence, free ourselves from its evils through non-violence. How could we, I thought, ask the Congress now to become war-minded? In Delhi we had declared that if the freedom of India was acknowledged, we would co-operate fully in the war effort. This meant that to secure freedom we were prepared to sacrifice non-violence. How terrible it is that we should be ready to go before the millions, in whose name we speak and to whom we have been preaching non-violence all these years, and tell them something quite opposite!

The strength of the Congress does not reside in the members enrolled in its register. The strength of the Congress is derived

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 230-1.

from the millions that stand by these members. The Congress does not belong to the Hindus alone. It belongs to all—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christians. It may well have a majority of Hindus but belongs as much to Muslims, Parsis and Christians as it does to Hindus. No one is precluded from joining the Congress because he is a Muslim. An example is there before us. Maulana Saheb has not become our President because he represents a large group of Muslims. And yet he makes you and me and the Congress and its Working Committee dance to his tune. He did not have to become a Hindu for that. Where will you find a Muslim academic as great as he? Then there are the Khan Brothers sitting amongst us. They wield so much influence over me that they can make me do what no one else can. Dr. Khan Saheb told me that plying the charkha was beyond him. I told him that if he found the charkha difficult he could take up the pickaxe. Similarly, is not the Congress of the Parsis? They are numerically a much smaller community than Muslims. But Dadabhai Naoroji became our first President. Then Pherozeshah Mehta, the uncrowned king of Bombay, was our President, who in fact made the Congress. He knew no distinctions. It was all the same to him whether one was a Parsi, a Muslim or a Christian. Since childhood the lesson I have learnt from their example is that anyone who seeks the freedom of the country and serves it can acquire control of the Congress. Who can stop Muslims from acquiring control of the Congress? Who can prevent them from dominating the Congress in the Punjab, in Bengal, in Sind and even in Bombay where they are in a minority? If there are any Hindus who in their pride think that since they are in a majority the Congress is their monopoly, I should ask them to leave the Congress. It is true that the Congress guides itself by majority opinion. But that is because, and only to the extent that, right is on the side of the majority. Many people accuse the Congress of wanting to bring about Fascism. But even such people will concede that the Congress has no weapon except that of non-violence. All its work is conducted wholly through peaceful means. Such being the case the charge of Fascism becomes meaningless. For Fascism cannot carry on without the cudgel and the sword, nor can imperialism, nor can Nazism. But since we want to do everything peacefully we have to carry with us even a minority of a handful of people. If we do not do that, they can obstruct our functioning. The magic of satyagraha, which I have explained to the country, is for all. With its help even eighty thousand people can block the way of eighty million. And, to say nothing of eighty million, we can stop even 210 million from riding

on the backs of the whole population. There is a section in the Congress that says that Gandhi's way is not the right way. They want a campaign of widespread labour strikes, mass defiance of laws and such other things. They do not accept the policy of non-violence. It certainly is one way. But it is not the Congress way. Those who accept the policy of non-violence will have to accept that the Congress does not belong to any one community. And if it goes by the principle of majority it is not so as to rule over the minority or brow-beat it but to serve. If the majority remembers this and acts accordingly it will easily be able to win the minority over to its side. The history of the Congress shows this. Records in the Congress office will show that its membership has been steadily increasing. It has also been steadily gaining in prestige. The reason for this is that the strength that the majority represents is moral strength and not the strength of the brute. This is the strength of its right and truth. If in addition it gains also the strength of non-violence, nothing can be more desirable.

It is possible that this will be my last opportunity to speak to you. And I have to take work from you. So I wish to talk to you to my heart's content. I have explained to you what sort of thing the Congress is. If you cannot swallow what I have said, you may throw out the resolution. If your hearts and minds do not accept it, you and I shall be deceiving one another and the purpose we seek to attain will not be attained. If the captain of a ship does not have the co-operation of the crew heart and soul, the ship must sink. You have accepted me as your captain—and I am your captain. So you must—all of you, from the first officer down to the lowest hand—give me your co-operation with one heart and one mind. If not, not only will you be shipwrecked yourself but history will record that we betrayed the millions in whose name we claimed to speak, that we consigned ourselves to the sea and ruined the country.

Therefore the first important thing is that with full deliberation you should follow me heart and mind. Of course, I shall be keeping you informed every week. I do not wish to go to jail. The Government may no doubt put me in jail but I will not deliberately court imprisonment. I will not myself offer civil disobedience. If they seek to gag me I will not keep quiet. But the Government knows me to some extent. If I do not wish to go to jail it will not put me in jail. I shall be keeping those of you who are outside posted with instructions from time to time and expect you to act accordingly. If you do not do so and then say, 'How is it you could not see that we would be of no use to you as instruments in

your hands?', you will be betraying me. Rather than that you should bid me good-bye now and throw out this resolution. If you do this the Working Committee and I will not be hurt. After all the resolution has been put up to you for your approval. If you do not like it you have every right to reject it.

Now I come to the resolution. It is a short one. One part of it says what we believe in. We believe in peace. We want to take peace as far as it can go. Not only do we want to secure swaraj through non-violence, but we also want to run our affairs after swaraj is secured in a non-violent way. But the government under swaraj will not be wholly in the hands of Congressmen. Other parties—including those opposed to the Congress—will be represented. There will be adult franchise. That is to say, adult Hindus, Muslims and those whom we today consider untouchables will elect their representatives for the parliament. Who knows what this mixed parliament will do? But I hope that those representing the Congress will vote for non-violence and if they are in a majority they will conduct the affairs of State through non-violence. The Congress, as Congress, has no other way. We have been saying all along that we shall secure swaraj through non-violence, through peace. How then can we, in order to secure swaraj, assist the empire in its war today? There are other reasons besides for not giving such assistance. Supposing the Government accepted all our demands and said, 'You may do what you like later, but you must mobilize an army today.' Even then in the present circumstances I feel we have to tell them, 'No, we cannot go along with you. We do not wish you to lose the war. It is in the hands of God whether you win or lose. But we can under no condition help you with money or men. No matter what rewards you promise, the Congress will never agree to the step.'

There is another thing in this resolution. At a time when the British people are fighting for their very existence and are risking their lives and their all, no satyagrahi will ask, 'Are you going to give us swaraj now or not?' He will remain quiet. He will say, 'Why fight against an opponent in trouble?' We cannot start the battle of swaraj now on the assumption that they will give us nothing after they have won the war. It is not the way of satyagrahis to take advantage of the opponent's weak position to wrest political power from him. We have to wrest power with our own strength. We, therefore, tell them: 'At this hour of your trial we do not wish to harass you.'

The question then may be asked: Why bring the resolution at all? For, whatever we may do in pursuance of the resolution is bound

to create difficulties for them. The answer is that the position today is such that if we do nothing, our very existence will be imperilled. Even if they do not seek to destroy us the result will be the same. The answer of those who are opposed to the war is that ever since Ramgarh[1] we have been shouting from the house-tops that it is our right to persuade others not to assist in the war. We shall tell them that India cannot be forced into supporting them, that we do not wish to gain even our independence by supporting them in the war. We must have the freedom to say this. Right of free speech is included among civic rights and so far as it has not been gained, swaraj cannot become a reality. So long as we adhere to non-violence and can do what we like, we can have no quarrel with the Government. And if vast masses of our people give expression to this feeling how can the Government claim that India is with it in the war? We have a right to tell them without mincing words that they made a serious mistake in declaring India at war. They themselves enacted legislation and gave us provincial autonomy. It used to be believed that the provinces enjoyed the status of virtual 'Dominion Status'[2]. 'Safeguards'[3] were certainly there. But that was merely to provide against the possibility that owing to inexperience we might not know how to manage Governmental affairs. These safeguards never had to be invoked in practice. Notwithstanding all this the central authority abused its powers and proclaimed that India was at war. The Government may very well count the Princes on their side but who can claim that the people of the princely States are also with the Government in the war? Was it not necessary even to consult the provinces which were supposed to be autonomous? Leaving aside other provinces did they consult even Bengal or the Punjab? Did they ask N.W.F.P., where ninety per cent of the population is Muslim? All this has showed that what is called provincial autonomy is a farce, a mere toy. So we cast it away. Even after casting it away we patiently waited for a year. I do not regret it. We gained in strength thereby—at least I did. For without it we could not have spoken up as we are speaking up today.

After this we made a proposal which was hurtful to us but that too was not accepted by the British Government. Nor did they care. They have made the Viceroy the supreme ruler over 300 million people. The Viceroy[4] is my friend and I hope he will

[1] In Bihar, where the Congress met in March 1940; *vide* Vol LXXI.
[2] & [3] Gandhiji has used the English expression.
[4] Lord Linlithgow.

continue to be my friend. But what is the meaning in entrusting one individual with so much power? This is what pinches me. With whose consent does he declare today that India is with Britain in the war? If nothing else, he could have at least kept the Congress out of it when he made the declaration. But nothing of the sort happened. Under the circumstances if we do not make our opposition known we shall cease to exist. At a time when our very existence hangs in the balance what can we say or do? We can at least say this: 'Send us to jail if you want, but we will make our feelings known. We will not let ourselves go out of existence.'

Still we are observing this restraint: the fight will not be on a mass scale. As I have said, this is not going to be a fight for swaraj. Today they tell us: 'Come aboard our ship. Save yourselves and save us too.' We say: 'No.' For we do not depend on them for our existence. We do not depend on anyone for our existence. I fear neither Japan nor Germany nor anyone else. I do not seek the defeat of the British. I want them to win. They are a brave nation. But I cannot bear that their rule over my country should be perpetuated and we for ever remain under their protection. So I shall not board their ship. If I do, we shall be faced with what Germany and Britain are faced with today. I shall not be party to the barbarous business they are engaged in today. I shall keep on addressing them from a distance: 'Why are you cutting each other's throats? Throw away your weapons. Become brothers. You belong to the same Europe and are therefore brothers. Are you fighting for the possession of India? Then you should understand that India will not be possessed either by Germany or Japan. It belongs and will continue to belong to the Indians.' So long as there is a single Congressman alive no foreigner shall occupy it. What may happen after he falls is another matter. A satyagrahi has faith that whatever God does, He does for good, so he will die smiling. And even while dying he will bear no enmity towards his assailant. He will say that the assailant is steeped in ignorance and has lost his senses.

Let me now say something about how the resolution was drafted. Up to now I have been drafting Congress resolutions. However we now have a very able man to do the drafting. So the wording of the resolution is mine but it has been touched up by Jawaharlal. I am not such a master of English as Jawaharlal is. So I asked him to improve my draft. I must say that the exposition of non-violence in the resolution is Jawaharlal's. I had wanted to omit it. Jawaharlal had also agreed. But Maulana Saheb did not permit it. In saying all this I wish to emphasize that the resolution is

wholly mine. The resolution says: 'We have no ill will against the British. We want friendship of all.' I am profoundly hurt even if a single English child dies. The thought of St. Paul's Cathedral being damaged hurts me as much as it would hurt me to see the temple of Kashi Vishwanath or the Jama Masjid damaged.

I was therefore shocked to hear that bombs had fallen on St. Paul's. What harm had this Cathedral caused to anyone? But what is the use of merely expressing sorrow? I am a disciple of the British in this regard. Today when bombs are raining over London, the Londoners are going on with their everyday business without showing any panic. They dance, they make merry, they jest. An eleven-year-old boy writes to his father from school that he will not leave England and go to Canada. In this kind of bravery the British people deserve to be our gurus. How then can I forget this thing that I have learnt from them? While I sympathize with them, how can I forget my dharma? They are today in a very delicate plight. But even if they should lose London, even if they should lose England they will not accept defeat. They will go to Canada, they will go to New Zealand, they will go to Australia and continue the war from there. While sympathizing with them we cannot forget our duty. That is why I have said that though our fight this time will not be for swaraj how can we forget the foundation of swaraj which is in danger? We have to resort to satyagraha to defend it.

But even here we have accepted restraints. The Working Committee says: 'We have placed everything in Gandhi's hands. We have learnt the art of civil disobedience from him. We shall let him make one more throw. So long as he is alive let him do the fighting.' So they have made me the sole leader. That includes civil disobedience, non-violence, non-co-operation and everything. I do not know what step I shall ask you to take today. Right now there is darkness in front of me. You must understand that in passing this resolution you are appointing a man who finds himself in the dark as arbiter of your destiny.

Those who do not want compromises and negotiations should know that this resolution gives scope for both. I have always believed in *via media*. I shall go to the Viceroy with the resolution and ask him why he has taken away our liberty. If he says, 'No, that is not so; keeping within the bounds of non-violence you may say what you like', then I shall not fight. Nor shall I advise you to fight. Thus the resolution spells out the limitation of the objective of the fight. We cannot save one who chooses the path of violence. We do not wish to embarrass the

Government. At the same time we do not wish to carry the policy of non-embarrassment to the point of suicide.

In the end the resolution expresses the conviction that if we accept non-violence within our hearts and minds and act according to it, a day will come when the world will come to us and ask us how it can extricate itself from the war. Today England is spending anything from ten to twelve crores of rupees every day on the war. Why can't 300 million of India's people tell them not to indulge in this senseless expenditure? With that amount millions here can be saved from starvation. I commend the bravery of the British but I cannot compliment them for good sense. What they are doing today is foolish in the extreme. If we can tell them plainly what we feel and peacefully secure our independence we can show to the world how a peaceful social order can be established. Today it is merely a dream, tall talk of small men.

But if we can do this, freedom is in our pocket. And not only this. We can also set a magnificent example to the world. Hitler's astuteness baffles me. But this astuteness is of no worth to me. The thing I have placed before India today is such that even if Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and Churchill all put together oppose it they cannot defeat it.

Just one word more in the end. I do not know what I shall ask you to do. But I know what is not on the cards. Even if we have to resort to civil disobedience it will not be mass civil disobedience. What I have in mind is individual civil disobedience and also some other things. I hope to give you a full account of the responsibility I have today assumed. But should a time come when I find myself bankrupt and cannot do anything, I shall ask Maulana Saheb or whoever else from amongst you is outside jail to try your resources. I pray to God to give you and me the sense and courage and ability to keep on the right path.

If you do not care for the things I have said, I must ask you to throw out this resolution. If you approve of what I have said, I shall hope that you will become the bearers of my message. To those who have violence at heart, those who believe in cutting wires, derailing trains and creating disorder, my request is: There is a great experiment going on; please do not put obstacles in the way, otherwise the lead I can give will become ineffective. If I give up the leadership or the Congress gives up non-violence they may do as they like.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 21-9-1940

5. *SPEECH AT A.I.C.C. MEETING, BOMBAY–II*[1]

September 15, 1940

I know that you have listened to me with the greatest patience.[2] I am specially grateful to you today for the simple reason that I have said many things which may have displeased you. But it was never my intention to displease those whom I want to harness for the great work that lies before you and before me. I have to speak to you at length because I have to shoulder this burden. I have not come with a prepared speech at all. The thoughts will come as I proceed.

Let me begin with a thought which has been weighing with me for a considerable time. When the war broke out and I went to Simla to see the Viceroy I issued a statement[3] the next day, not in a representative but in my individual capacity. A friend[4] has now reminded me how good it would have been if I had simply hung on to that statement although I could not take the Congress with me; and on the eve of my shouldering this responsibility, he prayed that I should be guided by God to take up that original position and retire. I have very great regard for him. I have not forgotten that statement, nor have I any regret or apology to offer. If such a thing occurs—and history often repeats itself—and I happen to go to another Viceroy, I should make the same statement.

Although I spoke only for myself, deep down in me there was the Congressman speaking. The Viceroy also did not send for me because I was M. K. Gandhi. M. K. Gandhi has absolutely no place in his books. The man who wields the sceptre can have no room for individuals. He sent for me because he thought I would represent the Congress view and I would be able to carry conviction to Congressmen.

I withdrew from that position, not as an individual but as a Congressman, and because I failed to carry conviction even

[1] In the source, Mahadev Desai explains that this is an "authorized version" of the English speech as "revised by Gandhiji".

[2] Gandhiji first spoke in Hindi; *vide* the preceding item.

[3] On September 5, 1939; *vide* Vol. LXX, pp. 161-2.

[4] The reference is to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri; *vide* Vol. LXXII, p. 295.

to a single Congressman. Happily you have got on the Working Committee men with sterling honesty who had the courage to tell me that, although it was my statement, they did not feel like accepting it. They added that they had had bitter experience behind them, and that therefore they would not be able to take that position. Thus you had the resolution[1] that was passed by the Congress immediately after the war. And I agreed with the resolution as a representative, although I said to them that if I could carry conviction, my original position was the best possible one to take up. If I had pressed the members of the Working Committee to accept my position, they would have done so, but it would have been only mechanical. The statement was not made to deceive the Viceroy or, for the matter of that, a single soul. It came straight from the heart. It was not a theatrical display. It was the opening up of the secret recesses of the heart before the world, the Viceroy and the Congress. If these words of mine could not find an echo in their hearts, they would have been of no use whatsoever to the Viceroy, to the great English nation or to India. That still remains my sentiment. If I could not convince the Congress of my attitude, it would not carry us further. It would have been a wrong step to take, and hence it was not taken. With that background I approach this resolution.

I have made repeated statements that I would not be guilty of embarrassing the British people or the British Government when their very existence hung in the balance, that I would not be true to my satyagraha, would not be true to non-violence, would not be true to the truth which I hold dear if I did so, and therefore could not do so. That very man now stands before you to shoulder the burden of satyagraha. Why? There comes a time when a man in his weakness mistakes vice for virtue; and virtue itself, when taken away from its context and from the purpose for which it was dedicated, becomes vice. I felt that, if I did not go to the assistance of the Congress and take the helm even if it be in fear and trembling, I would be untrue to myself.

I feel that in taking the step that we are doing we are rendering a great service not only to the Congress but to the whole of India. And we are rendering a service not only to the whole of India. History will record—and Englishmen will be able to grasp this statement some day—that we rendered help to the English nation, and they will find that we were true to our salt and had the same bravery and fearlessness of which the Englishman

[1] Of October 10, 1939; *vide* Vol. LXX, Appendix XI.

is proud and for which he is renowned. I, who claim to be a fast friend of the British people, will be guilty of unfriendly conduct if, under a false sense of modesty, or because people may think otherwise about me, or because Englishmen themselves will be angry with me, I do not issue a warning that the virtue of self-restraint now becomes vice, because it will kill the Congress organization, and it will kill the very spirit which is exercising this restraint.

When I say this, I am speaking not only for the Congress, but for all who stand for national freedom—Muslims, Parsis, Christians and even those who are against the Congress, so long as they represent the aspiration of India, namely, unadulterated independence. I should be untrue to all of them if, at this time, I said, 'No embarrassment to the British.' I must not repeat parrot-like 'no embarrassment'. Then that repetition would be just as useful for my salvation or for the guarding of my virtue as the repetition by a parrot of God's name which cannot bring him salvation, because it is only a mechanical and vocal effort without any intelligence behind it. Therefore, if I exercise that suppression at this critical moment in the history of the nation, it would be useless. I should be perfectly untrue to myself if I hid myself in Sevagram and said, 'No, I have told you, no embarrassment.'

The language of this resolution is in the main mine. It appealed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I used to be the Congress draftsman. Now he has taken my place. He saw it was inevitable, if we were to be true to non-violent resistance to the extent to which we wanted to go. The Working Committee has accepted this phraseology deliberately, well knowing its implications. The result is this: If we can get the declaration from the British Government that the Congress can carry on anti-war propaganda, and preach non-co-operation with the Government in their war effort, we will not have civil disobedience.

I do not want England to be defeated or humiliated. It hurts me to find St. Paul's Cathedral damaged. It hurts me as much as I would be hurt if I heard that the Kashi Vishvanath Temple or the Jama Masjid was damaged. I would like to defend both the Kashi Vishvanath Temple and the Jama Masjid and even St. Paul's with my life, but would not take a single life for their defence. That is my fundamental difference with the British people. My sympathy is there with them nevertheless. Let there be no mistake on the part of Englishmen, Congressmen, or others whom my voice reaches, as to where

my sympathy lies. It is not because I love the British nation and hate the German. I do not think that the Germans as a nation are any worse than the English or the Italians are any worse. We are all tarred with the same brush; we are all members of the vast human family. I decline to draw any distinctions. I cannot claim any superiority for Indians. We have the same virtues and the same vices. Humanity is not divided into watertight compartments so that we cannot go from one to another. They may occupy one thousand rooms, but they are all related to one another. I would not say, 'India should be all in all, let the whole world perish.' That is not my message. India should be all in all, consistently with the well-being of other nations of the world. I can keep India intact and its freedom also intact only if I have goodwill towards the whole of the human family and not merely for the human family which inhabits this little spot of the earth called India. It is big enough compared to other smaller nations, but what is India in the wide world or in the universe?

Let there be no mistake as to what I am about. I want my individuality to remain unimpaired. If I lose it, I would be of no service to India, much less to the British people, still less to humanity. My individual liberty is the same as the nation's, convertible with national liberty. I do not claim any greater liberty for myself. Hence my liberty is equal to the liberty of all of you and no greater. I feel that, if my liberty is at stake, yours is also at stake. I claim the liberty of going through the streets of Bombay and say that I shall have nothing to do with this war, because I do not believe in this war, and in this fratricide that is going on in Europe. I admire the bravery. But what is the use of this bravery? I deplore the foolishness and the crass ignorance. These people do not know what they are fighting for. That is how I look at this war that is going on across the seas. I cannot possibly take part in it. Nor do I want the Congress to do so.

The part that I would like to take is the part of a peacemaker. If the British people in their wisdom had recognized the independence not of the Congress but of all India, and if other parties in India had also co-operated with us, we would have taken the honourable place of peacemakers between these nations. Such is my ambition. But today I know that it is a day-dream. But sometimes a man lives in his day-dreams. I live in mine, and picture the world as full of good human beings—not goody-goody human beings. In the Socialist's language, there will be a new

structure of society, a new order of things. I am also aspiring after a new order of things that will astonish the world. If you try to dream these day-dreams, you will also feel exalted as I do.

And now I come to our 'tin-pot' Congress—tin-pot in the estimation of others, not my own. If we do not take care, the Congress will disappear, and if the Congress disappears, the national spirit disappears. One after another Congressmen are being selected and jailed. It is not satyagraha to watch people being taken away. It is much better for all of us to rush into the jaws of the opponent. After all, as the Maulana Saheb once said, India is a vast prison. Let us get out of this slave-prison by breaking the prison bars. He said to the Sikhs at the time of the Nankana Saheb tragedy[1]: 'You may protect one gurdwara; but what about the vast gurdwara that is India? We have to deliver it from bondage.' Those words ring true even today in my ears. If this liberty of the nation or the movement for freedom is likely to be choked, then I say that the virtue of self-restraint is going to become a vice. That virtue of restraint cannot be carried to the extent of the extinction of the national spirit wherever it may reside, whether among Congressmen or non-Congressmen.

I do not want to hurl civil disobedience or anything in the face of the Government without making my meaning clear, the meaning I attach to the sum total of Government actions—actions beginning with the declaration of the Viceroy, the statement[2] of the Secretary of State for India, and the series of actions and the policy that the Government have pursued since. The sum total of all these has left an indelible impression on my mind that there is something wrong, some injustice being perpetrated against the whole nation, and that the voice of freedom is about to be stifled. This is implied in the resolution, not in the exact language which I am using now, but you will see the meaning clear as daylight.

In order completely to clarify our position, I propose to approach the Viceroy with a request that he will be good enough to see me, and I have no doubt that he will. I will place my difficulties before him; I will place the Congress difficulties before him. I will approach him in your name, I will tell him that this

[1] In the Punjab, where on February 20, 1921, many Sikhs were killed on entering the gurdwara; *vide* Vol. XIX

[2] Of L. S. Amery, who opened on August 14, a debate on India in the House of Commons

is the position to which we have been reduced: 'We do not want to embarrass you and deflect you from your purpose in regard to war effort. We go our way, and you go yours, undeterred, the common ground being non-violence. If we carry the people with us, there will be no war effort on the part of our people. If, on the other hand, without your using any but moral pressure, you find that the people help the war effort, we can have no cause for grumbling. If you get assistance from the Princes, from the zamindars, from anybody high or low, you can have it; but let our voice also be heard. If you accept my proposal, it will be eminently honourable, it will certainly be a feather in your cap. It will be honourable of you, although you are engaged in a life-and-death struggle, that you have given us this liberty. It will be honourable of you that you take this great step, although you have limitless powers to choke our voice, and that you give us the fullest possible freedom, consistently with the observance of non-violence, to tell the people of India not to join the war effort.'

Let the people use any reasoning they like for refusal to help the war effort. My reasoning is the only one which will sit well on Congressmen's lips. But I do not expect all to restrict themselves to that reasoning. Those who have conscientious objection, as I have, will adopt my reasoning. Those who are tired of British imperialism will use that argument. There may be others who will have other arguments. All these should be covered under this freedom of speech, provided, however, that they all accept non-violence, provided also that what they say is said openly and not secretly. These are the implications of my generalship. If these do not satisfy you, you must reject this resolution summarily. So long as you can preach non-co-operation with war effort in men and money, there should be no civil disobedience. But if you have not that liberty, there is no swaraj but perpetual bondage. I would like the British people and the Viceroy to be able to tell the world that they have given the leaders of the Indian people liberty to preach to their people what they like. The British can then say to the world: 'Judge us by our conduct. Here in India we are playing the game.'

I do not mind the British not responding to the Delhi resolution. They may say, 'At the present moment you cannot interfere with the management of affairs as they stand. Deliverance will come to you in its own time. At this critical juncture do not worry us.' I will understand that argument. I will sympathize with it. I will hold my hand so long as there is no fraud or falsity in what they say. It is impossible for them to give us

freedom. If freedom has got to come, it must be obtained by our own internal strength, by our closing our ranks, by unity between all sections of the community. It cannot descend from heaven, nor can it be given as a gift from one nation to another. I do not know whether I am representing the feelings of the members of the Working Committee, because I have not discussed these things with them. But you have to take me with all my limitations, with the workings of my mind.

The Viceroy may say, 'You are a visionary.' I may fail in my mission, but we will not quarrel. If he says he is helpless, I will not feel helpless. I will make good my position. I cannot sit still when I see Ram Manohar Lohia and Jayaprakash Narayan in jail, than whom I do not know braver or straighter men. They have not preached violence, but simply carried out the behests of the Ramgarh resolution[1]. It was a point of honour with them.

I have restrained myself, and will restrain myself. I will not seek imprisonment. I do not want to offer civil disobedience. I will not place myself in peril. In this battle I will not expose myself to imprisonment. But if the Government chooses, it will not be difficult to take me away. I will not be able to seal my lips or restrain my pen. It will be difficult for them to keep me in prison, not because India will rise in rebellion. India will be wrong if it does so. My own instinct is that they will not be able to keep me in jail.

I will place my argument before the Viceroy. I may fail in my mission. But I have never approached a mission in despair. I may have approached it with the consciousness that I may be faced with a blind wall. But I have often penetrated blind walls. I shall approach the Viceroy in the confidence and hope that he will understand the great reasonableness of the request of the Congress for full liberty to preach 'no war' in India. Everyone should have perfect liberty to preach by pen and tongue: 'We cannot aid imperialism, we cannot help spoliation.'

I shall strain every nerve to avoid satyagraha in your name. What shape it will take, when it comes, I do not know. But I know that there will be no mass civil disobedience, because mass civil disobedience is not required for this occasion. I have impenetrable darkness before me regarding the future course of action. I have no mysteries. I do not know how I shall lead you, what action I shall put before you. I hope that any action that we may take will be worthy of the Congress traditions and of the occasion.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, Appendix VI.

I have often said that I do not know the Congress mind as I have buried myself in Sevagram. It is because of the Congress difficulty that I have dragged myself to Bombay, and immediately I am released from this duty you will find me in Sevagram. But I have got strength and resourcefulness enough to lead this battle although I am buried in Sevagram. I shall do better and clearer thinking in Sevagram than anywhere else, simply because I have built up there an atmosphere for my growth. With the march of time my body must decay but, I hope, not my wisdom. I seem to see things more clearly with the advance of age. It may be self-deception, but there is no hypocrisy. Self-deception is good sometimes in that it helps one to remain cheerful and not to give way to despair. It will be, therefore, wrong of you to drag me from Sevagram; and I promise that I shall give a good account of my stewardship.

There are many parties in the Congress. We are not all of the same opinion. There is indiscipline in the Congress. I know it is inevitable in a mass organization which is growing from day to day. If it is all indiscipline and no discipline, the organization is on the downward path. Let it not be said of you that you come to the Congress although you do not believe in non-violence. How can you possibly sign the Congress pledge with violence in your breasts? I want complete obedience to the policy of non-violence. While the policy lasts, it is the same as though it was a creed, for so long as it holds good it is as good as a creed. My creed holds me for life; yours so long as you hold it. Resign from the Congress, and you are free from it. Let us be clear regarding the language we use and the thoughts we nurture. For, what is language but the expression of thought? Let your thought be accurate and truthful, and you will hasten the advent of swaraj even if the whole world is against you. You will have won swaraj without having to spend nine million pounds a day or without burning a single home. If you are true to your policy, I am sure that without doing any of these things you will build up the majestic edifice of freedom.

Now for the violence party. Do not mix up the methods if you can help it. You have restrained yourselves for some years. Restrain yourselves for some more years. Ours is not a small battle. If you restrain yourselves, you will lose nothing.

Freedom of speech and pen is the foundation of swaraj. If the foundation-stone is in danger, you have to exert the whole of your might in order to defend that single stone. May God help you.

Harijan, 29-9-1940

6. *SPEECH AT A.I.C.C. MEETING, BOMBAY–III*

September 16, 1940

I am not yet your captain. I shall be, when you have passed this resolution[1]. Today I am not even a four-anna member of the Congress. I am here only on your sufferance and that of the Working Committee. I wish to speak to you today on a couple of important matters.

Maulana Saheb had exempted me from attending today's session. It was I who insisted that before the Committee adopted the resolution I should know how they thought and spoke. In that way I might get some inspiration. And indeed I have learnt a lot here. One thing I learnt is that, notwithstanding so many years of training in ahimsa, many members used intemperate language. I was surprised to find that you did not even realize that everything you wanted was included in the resolution. I observe that an important matter which I explained to you yesterday has not been accurately reported in the newspapers. I wish to clarify it today. The Working Committee have laid the foundation of swaraj in framing this resolution.

If you ask for a definition of 'swaraj' I cannot give it; nor can Jawaharlalji. It is possible that someone else can fully define the swaraj of my conception. I am prepared to become a pupil of anyone of you who can send me a comprehensive definition of swaraj. The truth is that swaraj is something undefinable. I shall be able to include in my definition only a fraction of all that fills me. But the beauty of this resolution is that if you fully abide by it all your aspirations can be realized. Freedom of speech and civil liberty are the very roots of swaraj. Without these the foundations of swaraj will remain weak.

If you can understand this simple fact, you will realize all your arguments are meaningless. If we are able to secure the right of free speech, whether through persuasion or force, everyone including Sardar Sardul Singh of the Forward Bloc and Dr. Ashraf of the Communist Party will be able to do their work. If I look upon war-resistance as a religious matter, then freedom of conscience can also be said to be the objective of this resolution.

[1] *Vide* pp. 1-3.

You want complete independence. It is beyond its power to confer it. And we cannot become really free by merely declaring our freedom. We can be free only when the British go out bag and baggage and we can hold our own in the face of aggression by Japan, Germany, Russia or Afghanistan. It is useless today even to talk of civil disobedience for securing complete independence. What use is fighting for freedom against a country whose own independence is in danger? Even if one people could give independence to another people, the British people are not in a position today to do so. They are themselves in the midst of war. They have therefore gagged us all. They think we are their vassals. I am not. I can say what I like and also do what I like. This resolution authorizes you even to embark on a struggle to secure this right. They have the power to grant us this right. If even then they do not grant it, and if in consequence they are placed in a sorry plight we shall not be to blame.

I have placed before you a clear objective for the struggle. It is the basis of independence. If we do not hold fast to it, we shall be deprived of our principal weapon in the struggle for independence. I, therefore, want you to obtain this precious jewel and guard it. It is not a paltry matter. It has a vital importance. It is not a brain-wave of mine. When I was in great distress and prayed to God to show me the way, He inspired me with this thought.

Rajaji said to me that my demand was greater than his. It is partly true. They can make an announcement regarding independence even during the war. But they will not give us control over the Central Government. The reason is obvious, for then the war will have to be conducted through us. Rajaji may be the Prime Minister one day, Jawaharlal the next day and someone else the day after. Knowing the history and psychology of the Congress, how can they take the risk of relying on such an uncertain thing as our co-operation? If I were the Viceroy, I too would be afraid to do that. But there is no risk in giving what I ask. Where is the harm even if India as a whole does not volunteer to help the war effort with men and money?

If you have understood all this you should withdraw all the amendments you have given notices of. But not as a favour to me. I want you to make me your captain not as a favour to me but only if you feel I deserve it. Otherwise you should go your ways and allow me to retire to Sevagram and do my own work. I have neither a chart nor a compass to guide the ship which I

have to captain today. My plight is like that of Columbus, or even worse. He knew his destination. He had wanted to sail to India but he discovered a land much bigger than India. I am in a much worse plight. In spite of this you are appointing me your captain. You will have therefore to fill all posts from a rating to an officer. I do not seek any favour from you nor am I conferring any favour on you. If you accept this condition, you will have to obey every order from the captain. The captain of a ship has the authority to lighten the load of the ship by throwing overboard a disobedient rating or officer.

The swaraj that we demand has only one limitation. We cannot preach violence. This limitation has been imposed because the Government that is based on violence will not be able to tolerate violence by others. If even those who believe in violence lend me their ear, they too will ultimately find that they have no ground for disappointment. Because they will have the right to preach and even practise violence after we secure swaraj through non-violence. We are not going to have an army. But if a Sikh or a Khaksar wants to carry one or more swords, he will certainly be able to do so. When all others believe in non-violence, what can the violent do? If a majority of citizens are restrained in their speech and actions, they cannot but influence the others. If I become the head of the state in swaraj, I shall give such permission to anyone who seeks it. On the other hand, you must know that you will not have this freedom if you secure swaraj through violence.

Those who wish to resort to mass civil disobedience, general strike, etc., forget that the 1920 resolution contains all these methods. I have been endeavouring to prepare the country for these things for the last twenty years. If you had been prepared, we could have undertaken many of these things and created a new structure of society. Whose fault was it that you were not prepared?

Even so those who wish to resort to mass civil disobedience may do so. But it will be considered a breach of discipline. Of course, as I said to Subhas Babu, I shall congratulate them if they succeed. But those who rebel will not have my blessings. The right course would be for you to leave the Congress and then do what you like.

But the truth is we cannot resort to civil disobedience today within the limits of non-violence and it is for this reason that I do not today permit students to leave their schools and colleges. If they want to leave them for good they well may. As for strikes,

it will be enough to tell you that Shri Suresh Banerji, a labour leader who had once been my friend, then chose a different way, and who is again coming closer to me, told me that I alone possessed the key to a successful strike. It is true. But I am not inclined to use it for any of the activities today. Even if I wished to do so, would I have your help? If I order all of you to ply the charkha faithfully, will you do it? If I ask you to wield a pickaxe, will you do so without argument? I have my doubts.

If today you do what I ask you to do, I shall succeed with the Viceroy. I am not going to be silenced by his saying, 'No'. You are free to say whatever you like even today. It is not as if you will be able to open your mouth only after my visit to the Viceroy. But the proper thing would be for you to exercise restraint till I have been to see the Viceroy and reported the results. I can promise you this: I shall not come back with a compromise which will gag our mouths.

Pandit Jawaharlal and Dr. Ashrof have referred to the Hindu-Muslim problem. If strife is destined to be our lot who can avoid it? We should also be prepared to risk anarchy and disorder. We should have the faith that non-violence will not lead to violence and even if this happens, we shall have the strength to control it. And that will be our real test. It is in the nature of ahimsa that it grows in strength as violence increases. I hope you will acquire such strength before my death. We can establish non-violent swaraj only when we acquire non-violent strength and through such strength we can spread peace and goodwill throughout the world.

I wish to give a message to the Muslim brethren. If eight crore Muslims oppose India's independence, India will never win independence. But I shall admit such opposition only when all adult voters from among the eight crore declare their opposition to independence. But I consider this almost impossible. They may, of course, declare that they want independence without Hindu domination. It is worse than anarchy to partition a poor country like India whose every corner is populated by Hindus and Muslims living side by side. It is like cutting up a living body into pieces. No one will be able to tolerate this plain murder. I do not say this as a Hindu. I say this as a representative of Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and all. I would say to Muslim brethren, 'Cut me to pieces first and then divide India. You are trying to do something which was not attempted even during the Muslim rule of two hundred years. We shall not allow you to do it.' Whatever I have said about the Muslims also applies to the Sikhs. If the 30 lakh

Sikhs wish to obstruct India's independence, they are in a position to do so. We shall deal with them also in the non-violent way. Non-violent swaraj cannot be secured without non-violence. I shall work for communal unity. Islam means peace. It does not mean peace to the Muslims only; it means peace to all communities and to the entire world.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 12-10-1940

7. *INTERVIEW TO STIMSON*[1]

[*September 17, 1940*][2]

STIMSON: How do you desire not to embarrass Britain with your demand to preach anti-war propaganda in a non-violent way?

GANDHIJI: Because non-violence is the Congress creed which involved Congress hostility to all war. Hence it is a vital necessity for the Congress to dissociate itself from identifying itself with any war. Hence my desire not to embarrass Britain was necessarily limited and conditioned by the counter-necessity of preserving the Congress existence, and therefore civil disobedience is definitely restricted to freedom of speech and action, provided they are absolutely non-violent. Therefore I have claimed in my speech that, if the full import of Congress action is understood, it must in the end help Britain and the world.

Why?

Because in the midst of the conflagration all round there is one powerful body pinning its faith to uttermost non-violence. If it succeeds, then the groaning world can heave a sigh of relief and find a way out of these monstrous armaments.

How do you visualize the future of India in the event of a Nazi victory?

All I can say is I am not dismayed by the prospect, if my country remains true to the cult of non-violence. But that does not mean that I should be in any way pleased with the prospect of a Nazi victory. What terrifies me is that as things are going on at

[1] & [2] The interview is extracted from "Seven Days in Bombay" by Mahadev Desai, who explains that "the representative of the Associated Press of America saw Gandhiji within twenty-four hours of the termination of the A.I.C.C." The A.I.C.C. session came to a close on September 16.

present, defeat of Nazism will be bought at a terrific price, viz., superior Nazism, call it by any name you like.

In view of what has happened in Malabar,[1] is there any hope of mass civil disobedience being carried on non-violently?

Not at present, and therefore, as you must have noticed, in my speech[2] I made an emphatic declaration that so far as I was concerned there was no prospect of my embarking on mass civil disobedience. But if you ask me whether it is possible to conduct mass civil disobedience without its resulting in violence, I would emphatically say 'Yes'. But my country is not at present ready for mass action, and in a way I am thankful that the unfortunate events in Malabar have come as a warning to the country and a pointer for me also.

Does your policy mean disapproval of America's help to Britain in the shape of planes and munitions?

Not in the slightest. For the simple reason that America does not believe with the Indian National Congress in non-violent action. I wish it did. Then America's contribution to peace and help to Britain would be infinitely more substantial than any number of planes and any amount of material that America can supply to Britain. And if the weekly correspondence I receive from America and visits from Americans who come to see me is any index to American opinion, I expect America to take a leaf out of the Congress book and outrun the Congress in the race for the establishment of peace on earth through universal disarmament.

Harijan, 22-9-1940

8. *INTERVIEW TO FRANCIS G. HICKMAN*[3]

BOMBAY,
[*September 17, 1940*][4]

HICKMAN: What is India's contribution towards making the world safe from Hitlerism?

[1] At various places people held, 'protest day' meetings against magesterial orders, when several policemen and demonstrators were wounded or killed.

[2] *Vide* p. 13 and pp. 24-5.

[3] This is extracted from "An American's Questions" by Mahadev Desai. According to a report in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 5-1-1941, the interview "took place in Bombay at the time of the session of the A.I.C.C. which Hickman attended".

[4] From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's diary

GANDHIJI: If the Congress succeeds in its non-violent effort, Hitlerism and all such 'isms' will go as a matter of course.

Don't you think India should do something to make facts better known in America and thus promote the interchange of goods and ideas? What do you think should be done in this connection?

First let us take up goods. America has had her bit, irrespective of Indian conditions and India's wishes. So far as ideas are concerned, my unhappy experience is that anti-Indian propaganda carried on in America has held undisputed sway, so much so that even the visit of an outstanding personality like Tagore produced little impression on the American mind.

But why does not India endeavour to make herself better known in America?

If America really wanted to know what Indian opinion is at a given time, there is ample literature which is growing from day to day to which they have access. If you have in mind an Indian agency which should do propagandist work on behalf of India, again our bitter experience has been that imperialist propaganda that is carried on with much ability and perseverance and at a lavish expenditure is such that we can never overtake it, and the work of any such agency has up to now proved fruitless.

Why not have Indian people use Indian hand-spun cloth and keep her mills busy for the export of manufactured cloth and yarn? Don't you think that this would help the cotton-grower?

I would not mind such a thing but it must be in order to supply the felt needs of the country which received our cloth. I have no idea of exploiting other countries for the benefit of India. We are suffering from the poisonous disease of exploitation ourselves, and I would not like my country to be guilty of any such thing. If Japan, say, as a free country wanted India's help, and said we could produce certain goods cheaper, and we might export them to Japan, we would gladly do so. But under my scheme of things all dumping of goods by one country on another, supported by her army and her navy, has to cease.

Apart from export of merchandise what has India to give America, and in turn what does India expect from America?

I must correct your question for you. India sends no merchandise to America; she sends only raw material, and that is a matter for serious consideration for every nationalist. For we cannot suffer our country remaining an exporter of raw produce, for it

means (as it has meant) extinction of handicrafts and art itself. I would expect America to treat India not as though India was a country for American exploitation but as if India was a free country, although unarmed, and deserving, therefore, the same treatment that America would wish at the hands of India.

You are repeating, Sir, the message of Jesus.

I agree. We are poor in technical skill, but as soon as you accept and consent to follow Jesus's teaching, I would not have to complain of all the skill being monopolized by America. You will then say, 'Here is a sister country poor in technical skill, let us offer our skilled assistance not for exploitation, not for a terrific price, but for its benefit, and so for nothing.' And here let me say a word about your missionaries. You send them here for nothing, but that also is part of imperialist exploitation. For they would like to make us like you, better buyers of your goods, and unable to do without your cars and luxuries. So the Christianity that you send us is adulterated. If you established your schools, colleges and hospitals without the object of adding to the number of the so-called Christian population, your philanthropy would be untainted.

As regards technical skill, I cannot afford to do what the Tatas are doing. They can afford to bring an American expert manager at Rs. 20,000 a month. But whilst they represent the spirit of adventure, they do not represent poor India. India has seven lakhs of villages which take in 90 per cent of her population. America has to think of these. America ought, if she will be of real help, to exercise her resourcefulness in this direction. And for that purpose America will have to cease to be the premier exporting country that she is. My views on national planning differ from the prevailing ones. I do not want it along industrial lines. I want to prevent our villages from catching the infection of industrialization. American exploitation has added neither to the moral height of the exploited countries nor of the exploiting country. On the contrary it has impeded their march towards spiritual progress, and deadened America's real spirit of philanthropy. A phenomenon like the one that America witnessed cannot happen in India. I mean the destruction of tons of sugar and other agricultural products. You might have supplied other countries the sugar and the wheat or fed America's own unemployed.

But you could not have taken our pigs!

I know. But all do not think like me. Pandit Nehru wants industrialization because he thinks that, if it is socialized, it would be

free from the evils of capitalism. My own view is that evils are inherent in industrialism, and no amount of socialization can eradicate them.

We have seen what Germany has done to Belgium and to the other countries. You would still say 'non-violence'? And yet you ask the Congress to fight because it is in danger of extinction. England also is in such danger and therefore fights.

Don't you see the obvious difference? England would have to out-Hitler Hitler in defeating him. We do not want to use any of the weapons used by those who would crush us. I would say to an aggressor: 'You may destroy my churches, my hearths and my homes, everything but my soul. I won't come to your country to destroy your churches, hearths and homes. I will not defend my country with your weapons. I will simply refuse to co-operate with you, refuse to owe any allegiance to you, in a word I will say "No" to you.' He may take possession of India, but if I have my way, he will not impress a single Indian in his service.

Then you must see another distinction. If we were fighting Government with Government's weapons, it would be the best chance for us to surprise the enemy and make their difficulty our opportunity. But we have been for over a year laying the utmost stress on non-embarrassment. It ought not to be turned against us. But we shall not use Britain's weapons, and that is how we shall help Britain against her will. I can understand the Viceroy's reluctance to surrender the reins of Government to us while he has to fight Germany; but I cannot understand the Government's desire to suppress the non-violent spirit of the nation.

But you again speak like Christ on earth, and they cannot understand that language.

I must persist at the peril of my life. In my opinion non-violence is not an individual virtue, but a course of spiritual and political conduct both for the individual and the community.

Harijan, 29-9-1940

9. *I WAS UNJUST BECAUSE WEAK*

I know Rajaji enough to understand that he is too brave to need any support from anybody, he is too philosophic to harbour an injury for many hours, if not minutes. I know also that his fine sense of humour enables him to enjoy a joke at his expense. Therefore this confession must be taken as one for my own satisfaction only.

I have told[1] the public that, had I not egged him on, Rajaji would never have brought forward his resolution at New Delhi. Having great regard for his judgment and his honesty, when he asserted with amazing assurance that I was wrong and he was right in the implications and application of non-violence, I allowed myself to doubt the correctness of my interpretation to the point of allowing and encouraging him to act on his. I showed weakness and became unjust to him. A weak man is just by accident. A strong but non-violent man is unjust by accident. I was unjust to Rajaji because I exposed him to ridicule and unkind attacks. Though no ultimate harm has come to the Congress because what I still consider was an error has been rectified, it is not a good thing for a great leader to have his work undone all of a sudden, for I know that Rajaji still feels that he was right. If his view had prevailed, the resolution that now holds sway would not have taken the shape it has. I would still have been out of the Congress. For I was out of it at Wardha before the Delhi resolution was taken as the natural outcome of Wardha.

If I was unjust to Rajaji, I was also unjust to the Working Committee. For, had I remained firm, the Wardha resolution too would not have been passed. I hold that, so long as I am accepted as the sole authority on satyagraha and its implications, they must not be a matter of vote. My colleagues may debate the pros and cons with me and try to convince me that their interpretation is right. If I cannot accept it, my judgment should prevail because I am both the author of satyagraha and general in satyagraha action. The only way the colleagues can avoid my judgment is by absolving me from guidance. They did in so many words at Wardha. But it is plain that the absolution was not what the word means. They were

[1] Presumably, the reference is to the article, "The Delhi Resolution"; *vide* Vol. LXXII, pp. 255-7.

most unwilling to give me absolution. It was given because I wrung it from them. My weakness began at Wardha. When a serious crisis arose, I should have raised the issue of jurisdiction. It was outside the Working Committee's jurisdiction to decide upon the meaning and application of a matter which belonged to their expert who was their interpreter and executive officer.

I am aware that all the members of the Working Committee do not accept my opinion as to jurisdiction. The matter has not come up for decision. But before the Committee and I came to the resolution now before the country I had made the confession I have now published for the sake of an esteemed co-worker.

It is my conviction that, owing to a series of fortunate combination of acts of the members at the last Wardha meeting, the present resolution was conceived and we have been saved from a national disaster. We have come to a decision which, if Congressmen react to it as they should, must raise India to a position which it has never yet occupied, and brings it nearer to her goal as nothing else could have done.

Whether my estimate is right or wrong time alone can show. But this is merely by the way. Nor is the purpose of this confession to invite the reader to accept my judgment as to the jurisdiction of the Working Committee. The mention of it was relevant to show the nature of my error. It is unpardonable for a general to surrender his judgment to a fellow officer unless the conviction goes home to him that the latter *is* right—not *may be* right.

I hope I have given the public enough material to show that in all that Rajaji did he was throughout brave and correct. The incorrectness was due to me.

And I wish to say the same thing about his 'sporting offer'. It is no part of this confession to defend it. But so far as I can see, the offer was truly sporting, if the correctness of the Poona resolution be accepted. It should be remembered that the Muslim League is a great organization wielding influence upon the Muslims of India. The Congress has dealt with it before, and I have no doubt it will deal with it in future. However mistaken Qaid-e-Azam[1] may be in our estimation, let us give him the same credit for honesty of purpose as we claim for ourselves. When the war cloud is lifted and when India comes to her own, surely Congressmen would just as much welcome a Muslim, a Sikh, a Christian, or a Parsi as Premier, as they

[1] Literally, 'great leader'; honorific title given to the Muslim League leader, Mahomed Ali Jinnah

would a Hindu, and even a non-Congressman, no matter of what faith he may be. I am sure that Rajaji's 'sporting offer' meant no more and no less than this. When passions have died, critics will read his offer in its proper light. It is wrong to misjudge a public worker, and doubly so, when he happens to be of Rajaji's calibre. He has lost nothing by the misjudgment. But a nation may easily harm itself by misjudging its true servants and denying itself their services. Above all, when the Congress may have to embark upon a great non-violent struggle for fundamental liberty, it behoves Congressmen to guard against harsh, hasty and uncharitable judgments.[1]

ON THE TRAIN TO WARDHA, September 18, 1940

Harijan, 22-9-1940

10. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

September 18, 1940

You must have seen the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee at its session on 16th instant. But, for ready reference, I send a copy of it, as also a newspaper cutting containing a fairly accurate summary of my speech in Hindustani and English.

I now request an interview at your early convenience. I seek it both as guide of the Congress and your friend which you have allowed me to call myself.[2]

From a photostat: C.W. 10163. Courtesy: India Office

[1] For C. Rajagopalachari's rejoinder, *vide* "Rajaji's Postscript", 25-9-1940.

[2] The Viceroy, who cabled this letter on September 22 to the Secretary of State for India, *inter alia*, said: "I have replied that I shall be glad to see him on Friday, September 27."

11. INTERVIEW TO "THE NEWS CHRONICLE"[1]

BOMBAY,
September 18, 1940

CORRESPONDENT: While expressing your sympathy with the British people in their plight, don't you think there is an inconsistency between your earlier decisions and your latest decision?

GANDHIJI: I thought that I had clearly and sufficiently explained my position in my speech[2], in anticipation of the charge of inconsistency. If there is any inconsistency, it is due in this particular instance to changed circumstances. My sympathy is not only the same as it had been expressed[3] in Simla on the declaration of war; it has become deeper because what was imaginary has become vividly real. In Simla almost a year ago I had expressed my grief over what might befall Britain. Today the dreaded thing has happened and is still going on. By nature I am so framed that every calamity moves me irrespective of the people whom it may overtake. But my sympathy, even though it is deeper today than a year ago, has undoubtedly changed in form. I was unprepared for the recent Government declarations, and I claim that it is the genuineness of my sympathy which has made me single out the one fact which Britain can easily recognize and yield without any hitch in her prosecution of war. I readily grant that there might be some reason for not dividing the responsibility for the conduct of the war with those who are the determined opponents of British imperialism and all it implies, and therefore I felt that, if the Congress continued to abide by its policy of non-embarrassment which is inherent in its non-violence, the Congress should for the moment abate agitation by way of direct action for independence. But freedom of speech and corresponding action is the breath of democratic life. Freedom of propagating non-violence as substitute for war is the most relevant when indecent savagery is

[1] Extracted from "Seven Days in Bombay". Mahadev Desai explains: "The correspondent . . . saw Gandhiji when he had already had a heavy day on top of a night of insufficient sleep, and when he had heavy engagements yet to fulfil."

[2] *Vide* pp. 9-13.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXX, p. 162.

being perpetrated by the warring nations of Europe. The Congress will forfeit all its right to be considered a non-violent organization if out of false sympathy or—what would be worse—fear of consequences, it ceased to agitate against the inhumanity that is being perpetrated in Europe and which, if not checked by somebody or some organization, may overtake the whole world. I hope this statement of Congress policy as I interpret it, as its sole guide, will not only satisfy the British public opinion, but will make it range itself on the side of the Congress, so as to enable the Viceroy to recognize the justice of the Congress claim which is a claim not for itself but which is a claim for freedom of speech no matter by whom exercised so long as it does not promote violence in any shape or form.

Harijan, 22-9-1940

12. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN[1]

[After *September 18, 1940*] [2]

I hope that all the conversation we had in Bombay has soaked into you. If it has, every problem could be solved by reference to those fundamentals which I tried to put before you. Our non-violence has to begin at home with our children, elders, neighbours and friends. We have to overlook the so-called blemishes of our friends and neighbours and never forgive our own. Then only shall we be able to right ourselves, and as we ascend higher, our non-violence has to be practised among our political associates. We have to see and approach the viewpoints of those who differ from us. We have to be patient with them and convince them of their errors and be convinced of our own. Then proceeding further we have to deal patiently and gently with political parties that have different policies and different principles. We have to look at their criticism from their own standpoint, always remembering that the greater the distance between ourselves and others, the greater the scope for the play of our non-violence; and it is only when we have passed our examination or test in these fields that we can deal with those against whom we are fighting and who have grievously wronged us.

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "On the Path of Ahimsa"

[2] From the reference to the conversation between Gandhiji and the addressee in Bombay, where Abdul Ghaffar Khan was invited to the Congress Working Committee meeting from September 13 to 18, 1940.

This was one thing we talked about. The other thing I said was that a non-violent man has to keep himself engaged usefully during all waking hours and, therefore, *constructive work is for him what arms are for the violent men.*

Harijan, 18-1-1942

13. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

September 20, 1940

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter, as also the wire. You did well in writing to Sardar[1]. You should never get upset by such criticism. You should realize that your method of work is quite different from everybody else's; such persons are always targets of criticism. You have created your own environment. Go on doing whatever you can within it. I will give whatever help I can. I have realized that your path is difficult. I will send Ba to you. I have already written that Mavalankar[2] or someone like him should come if possible. Ba will stay in Ahmedabad for a month.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8579. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

14. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

September 20, 1940

CHI. KAKA,

You may certainly publish the matter about the Kanpur report.

I have read the portion relating to Dr. Mahmud[3]. There is nothing in it worth including. I am returning it. I will send Bal's[4] letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] Vallabhbhai Patel

[2] G. V. Mavalankar; also called Dada; Speaker Bombay Legislative Assembly

[3] Syed Mahmud, ex-Minister of Education, Development and Employment in Bihar

[4] Addressee's son

[PS.]

I am going through the thing about Begum Sita.

Many live in (अनन्तकी इमारत) why does not the word इमारत (see verse 34) fit here? [*sic*]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10937

15. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
September 20, 1940

I see from Press comments that the main purpose of my contemplated visit to H.E. the Viceroy is being missed. It is well that I should not be misunderstood as to the purpose of my visit.

Assuming that the interview is granted, I do not go to hold a pistol at the Viceroy's head if the contemplated civil disobedience is to be taken as such. But I go, as I explained[1] in my speech before the All-India Congress Committee, in order to make sure I am right in the inferences I have drawn from the acts of the Government, commencing from the declaration of His Excellency the Viceroy. If the premises on which the Congress case is built are wrong, there is no case for civil disobedience. I would not be able to approach my task with confidence and firmness unless I made myself sure of my facts and the conclusions to be deduced therefrom.

The Hindu, 20-9-1940

16. LETTER TO A SIND WORKER

[Before *September 21, 1940*][2]

Do not think I am unconcerned about Sind. But I feel helpless. The people have not the capacity to adopt my remedy, and I have no other. They must, therefore, go to another physician.[3]

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-9-1940

[1] *Vide* pp. 18-9.
[2] The letter was reported under the date-line "Sukkur, September 21".
[3] *Vide* also "Sind Hindus", pp. 60-1.

17. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

WARDHAGANJ,
September 21, 1940

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
CARE LUCKY
CALCUTTA

FULSINGHJI[1] FASTING REGARDING WELL FOR HARIJANS IN VILLAGE MOTH YOUR ESTATE HISSAR. AM TOLD YOUR INTERFERENCE ALONE CAN SAVE LIFE PRECIOUS WORKER. MUSLIM AND HINDU JATS OPPOSING ANY WELL FOR HARIJANS. THIS WELL ALMOST BUILT FROM PUBLIC DONATIONS AND WOULD HAVE BEEN FINISHED BUT FOR SAID OPPOSITION.

GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 7849. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

18. TELEGRAM TO NARANDAS GANDHI

WARDHAGANJ,
September 21, 1940

NARANDAS GANDHI
RAJKOT

BA AHMEDABAD. ADVISING ACCORDING YOUR SUGGESTION.

BAPU

From a microfilm: M.M.U./II

[1] Bhagat Fulsingh, a Patwari of Rohtak District, came under the influence of Swami Shraddhanand, took a vow of refraining from bribes, and subsequently resigned his post. He was on fast for over a fortnight from September 2, 1940, and gave it up only after the obstructionists had agreed to the completion of the well.

19. *LETTER TO S. K. RAY CHAUDHURY*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 21, 1940

DEAR SARAT KUMAR BABU,

I have yours of the 17th instant. The cases you quote are certainly bad but without knowing full facts I cannot deal with them in *Harijan*. This is the special function of the Hindu Mahasabha. You have many able lawyers in your organization. I would suggest your collecting unimpeachable cases, bringing them to the notice of the Government and, failing relief, circulating such cases for formulating public opinion on them. For I notice much irresponsible and heated discussion in the papers on the sins of the Muslim majority Governments and the Congress Governments. The result is increasing bitterness without truth appearing before the public. You can do much to set the right tone. This letter must not be taken to mean any reflection upon your organization. I must confess that I have not followed its career. Probably you are doing exactly what I have suggested. If you have been, you may pass on the literature to me. I do not promise to work upon it. I may not get the time. But I should like to be kept informed of the happenings in your province which demand public attention. As I do not wish to enter into a public discussion with the Sabha, I would like you not to send this letter to the Press. Mine is a purely friendly approach in the interest of peace between the two communities.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

20. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

September 21, 1940

CHI. MIRA,[1]

I have kept you without a letter now for some days. But Bombay gave me neither time nor peace. I returned on Thursday but am able to write to you only today (Saturday).

Kanaiyalal[2] has sent a sweet reply. He understands and appreciates the position. You will, therefore, have no difficulty.

I see your point[3] about slivers. I have now asked Laxmidas[4] to send you best slivers so as to enable you to spin fine counts. You will tell me when you receive them and warn me in good time when you are likely to run out of stock.

The descriptive parts of your letter are just as fresh and delightful as ever. From that I infer that you are enjoying inner peace. Your *sadhana* there will be vain if it does not give you ever-growing peace. Your affinity for bird, beast, tree and stone is your greatest support. They are never-failing friends and companions.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I expect, you do not want me to give you political news or even Ashram news[5].

From the original: C.W. 6459. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10054

[1] The superscription in this and other letters to the addressee is in Devanagari.

[2] In *Bapu's Letters to Mira*, Mirabehn explains: "Lala Kanaiyalal Butail, my host, who had the hut prepared for me in his pine forest." For Gandhiji's letter to Kanaiyalal, *vide* Vol. LXXII, p. 411.

[3] Mirabehn says: "I had explained to Bapu that as I was combining *japa* with spinning, the turn of the wheel taking the place of the bead, I was most anxious not to have to interrupt spinning for carding and sliver-making in which no *japa* could be easily combined."

[4] Lakshmidas Asar

[5] Mirabehn explains: "I had stopped seeing all newspapers including *Harijan* and all letters except Bapu's."

21. TELEGRAM TO LORD LINLITHGOW

[*September 22, 1940*][1]

HIS EXCELLENCY VICEROY
SIMLA

MANY THANKS WIRE. HOPE REACH FRIDAY.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

22. MESSAGE TO COW-PROTECTION MEETING

[*September 22, 1940*][2]

What message need I send to a meeting which will be presided over by Sardar? However, since I have been asked, I am sending one. I look upon myself as a good servant of the cow. So their donation will be put to good use. But they should ask themselves whom the 71 cows received in donation will feed if they themselves do not drink cow's milk and eat cow's ghee.

M. K. GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 242

23. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
Septemner 22, 1940

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I suppose you would hardly be coming here now. I did expect you yesterday. I shall now be leaving this place on Wednesday.

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 33.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

The grocers will be donating 71 cows.[1] I have sent a message[2] since Shamaldas[3] asked for one. Explain to the donors what I have said in it. If they make the donation conditional, do not accept it. I will utilize the amount for cow-protection work wherever I like. Of course the condition that we must purchase cows is acceptable. But I must be free to decide to whom the cows should be given.

You will have entirely got rid of the fever by now. The others also will have recovered. I know that you will look after Radha[4] well and do what is necessary. When I heard of her illness, Maganlal's[5] image came vividly before my eyes.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 242-3

24. *LETTER TO SHARDABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 22, 1940

CHI. BABUDI,

So you did not come. I wanted to talk to you in person. Why do you lose heart? I will resolve your doubts when you come. Come soon. I am going to Simla. I will return in October.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10030. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

[1] On Gandhiji's 71st birthday
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] Shamaldas Gandhi, Gandhiji's nephew
[4]&[5] Radha Gandhi and her father, Maganlal Gandhi

25. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

SEGAON, WARDHA,
September 22, 1940

BHAI TANDONJI,

I have received your letter just now. I can never agree to a meeting of the Standing Committee being called. The better thing would be for those who wish to withdraw from the Prachar Samiti to do so. But I am agreeable to a meeting of the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti being called, and I shall work in that direction.

I am entirely with you when you say that the Sammelan cannot swallow the pill of Hindi or Hindustani. It will be a bitter pill. In any case, the controversy should not be carrried on in newspapers.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 10996

26. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[After *September 22, 1940*][1]

What is the sense in my sending messages every now and then? Even if I enumerate nine hundred ninety-nine virtues of khadi, those who lack faith in it will not acquire any. It can come only through effort and God's grace.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8681. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] The letter was in reply to the addressee's of September 22, requesting Gandhiji for a message on *Rentia Baras*, the non-stop sacrificial spinning initiated by the addressee, from *Bhadarva Vad* 12 (Gandhiji's date of birth according to Vikram Calendar, usually falling in the second half of September) to October 2; *vide* also Vol. LXIX, pp. 420-1.

27. *ANSWER TO A QUESTION*[1]

[Before *September 23, 1940*][2]

I agree. The resolution is the result of several days' full-fledged debate among the members of the Working Committee. I may confess that many of the members have no independent faith in non-violence but they are trying to imbibe it. But you must know that the Congress is not merely the Working Committee, nor the A.I.C.C., nor the members on the Congress registers, but the dumb millions. They are all peace-loving, and we have to represent them truly. These millions, before the Congress identified itself with them in 1919, had taken no part in any violent or non-violent or even a so-called constitutional fight. But they rose like one man on the 6th of April 1919[3]. They took up peaceful rebellion as their *mantra*, and without any organization, without any country-wide tour—for I had not then toured in the interior—they instinctively took up the call, and the Congress organization became a peaceful rebel organization. The Bombay resolution had these masses in mind.

Harijan, 29-9-1940

28. *TALK WITH AN ASHRAM YOUNGSTER*[4]

[Before *September 23, 1940*][5]

ASHRAM YOUNGSTER: If the Congress demand is complete, it means that we do not need swaraj, and that we shall be content with the liberty of speech and the Press.

[1] & [2] This and the following item are extracted from Mahadev Desai's "More about the Resolution", published under the date-line "Sevagram, September 23, 1940". Mahadev Desai explains: "A visitor recently asked Gandhiji if his re-entry meant that the Congress had become again non-violent at heart. 'So far as I can say from things in the Punjab,' said the visitor, 'I think that, though there is a good deal of self-restraint, there is little non-violence.' "

[3] Total hartal in protest against Rowlatt Act (Bill No. 29, 1919)

[4] & [5] *Vide* the preceding item. Mahadev Desai explains: "While some have regarded the Congress demand as too difficult to be accepted, some have regarded it as too trifling. A talk that Gandhiji had with an Ashram youngster may be summarized for the benefit of both."

GANDHIJI: Our objective is complete independence, as you know. But do you know the means to attain it?

Carrying out the constructive programme.

That is one of the principal branches of the tree. But what is the root?

Truth and non-violence.

Well, then, we want the right to preach truth and non-violence.

But will newspaper articles and speeches be enough for the propagation of truth and non-violence?

No, we have to do much more. But the right to preach truth and non-violence is threatened. The law seems to say that we may not tell people that they have every right not to co-operate in the war effort and that it is their duty as a non-violent people not to co-operate thus.

But you have yourself said that we can get swaraj if we fulfil the constructive programme. Why then this trivial issue?

It is not a trivial issue; it is a concrete and all-important issue. If we surrender it, a time will come when we may have to surrender all, when we may have to forget even the name of truth and non-violence. To preach these is our birthright, and to forfeit it is to forfeit our existence.

But what I am troubled about is the emphasis on mere speech and writing.

It is the liberty we claim. How and when to use it and whether to use it or no is our concern. If we cannot stand a strong breeze, we shut the windows and even the doors. But how should we feel if someone were to shut us up?

I see. But may it not be imaginary? If you ask a little child not to eat earth, it will eat it. It is the inhibition that is galling. Do you want to remove the inhibitions?

The analogy is wrong, for the little child has no right to eat earth, whereas no one has a right to prevent us from enjoying free air. But let me take another example for you as you are a child. Prahlad was ordered by his father not to take the name of Rama. He might have argued with himself, 'I lose nothing by not repeating the name of Rama, for Rama is in my heart.' But if he had resorted to this argument,

he would have deceived himself. He did not do so, and he defied his father to do his worst; he was not going to give up repeating Ramanama. And because he braved the most fearful hardships and dared even death for that sacred right, we have today a living faith in Ramanama. If he had yielded, that faith would have vanished from the earth. Even so, if we give up our right to preach truth and non-violence, we give it up for ever.

But abstract truth and non-violence no one prevents us from preaching.

No principle exists in the abstract. Without its concrete application it has no meaning. And when I want to preach non-violence I want to preach it as an effective substitute for war, and thereby to be able to wean Britain and other warring countries from violence and barbarism.

But why do you claim that right for all? In your speech[1] you said that you would speak as a conscientious objector, but that others might use any reasoning they liked, e.g., the financial or the imperialistic argument.[2]

I have no business to claim the right only for myself and for those who are conscientious objectors. For, some other grounds may be as important as, if not more than, conscientious grounds; and if I may not be smothered, how can I suffer those others to be smothered? If, moreover, the freedom was restricted to conscientious objectors, we should compel a number of our people to be hypocrites, for they would take shelter under the conscientious argument. All that is necessary is the acceptance by all of the condition of non-violence. That cannot be relaxed.

Harijan, 29-9-1940

29. *KHADI WEEK*

It is a happy thing that the khadi week coincides with my pending visit to H. E. the Viceroy. I want the prayers of all who believe in the efficacy of prayer that the result of my visit may prove fruitful to India, the British people, and ultimately conduce to peace between the warring nations. I feel that though the issue raised by the A.I.C.C. resolution seems small, it has in it great potency for the good of mankind.

[1] *Vide* p. 19.

[2] According to Mahadev Desai "someone" asked this question.

'Khadi Week' is the name given by me to my birthday celebration. Birth and death are twins. I should be sorry if the annual celebration was forgotten with my death. Therefore, I have popularized the birthday celebration as Khadi Week. It enables me to deal with the event impersonally.

I shall strain every nerve to avoid a civil disobedience struggle. But it would be wrong for Congressmen to go to sleep while an effort for peace is being made. I hope no Congressman thinks that because I have undertaken command of the struggle, if it comes, the spinning and khadi conditions are waived. Those who do not strictly conform to these and other conditions will find themselves left out if civil disobedience faces us. Moreover what will the millions do who will never have to court any kind of suffering? The constructive programme is as much for them as for the civil resisters. Indeed if it was confined to the latter only, the imprisonment of a few could never deserve to be called a national struggle. But voluntary suffering of even one person in the name of an organization or the nation, if backed by their unreserved co-operation in all manner prescribed by the commander, must ensure success. Khadi and spinning are the visible symbols that all can show. I would, therefore, expect a phenomenal rise in khadi sales, spinning and village handicrafts during the celebration week. I may also mention that the A.I.S.A.[1] having given up the policy of taking loans, it has become necessary to receive donations, if the work is not to be curtailed. The unexampled and unexpected rise in the wages of spinners has meant an increase of spinners. These cannot be provided for without more capital. Fortunately workers have come forward to collect funds for the A.I.S.A. I hope that there will be an automatic response to the appeal. All, whether Congressmen or others, should liberally support the appeal. The A.I.S.A. is a purely humanitarian economic institution. As such it has no politics, even though it has received its charter from the Congress. It is a purely autonomous body. All can, therefore, help it without any scruples. Khadi has no doubt a political, as it has an economic and humanitarian, significance. And viewed as a symbol of non-violence, even its political significance in no way detracts from its moral appeal. For genuine and unadulterated non-violence can have no colour of party politics. And the Congress will cease to be a party label but will be universally

[1] All-India Spinners' Association

acknowledged as national institution having no quarrel with any party or nation.

SEVAGRAM, September 23, 1940

Harijan, 29-9-1940

30. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

September 23, 1940

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Balvantsinha is unhappy. I did not send your letter. It has hurt him very much. It was bound to do so. To say about a co-worker that he would never listen to anyone is rather strong language. It cannot be proved either. He has always accepted the *Panch*'s[1] decision. Do not have any fear on his account. Give your decision. How is he to blame? If, therefore, you agree with me, withdraw your unnecessary remarks about Balvantsinha.[2]

Kanchan[3] is progressing. She will get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8485. Also C.W. 7102. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

31. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

September 23, 1940

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

It was good that Munnalal Shah's letter came to me. Its language is no doubt harsh but why feel hurt by it? A votary of ahimsa should feel hurt when he himself is guilty of violence. Why should I be hurt merely because someone abuses me? I have explained to Munnalal his error. I hope he will improve. That is his duty; but it is not your duty to improve him. What would happen if he does not improve? Can we compel anyone to observe his dharma?

The message which I had sent to you was like this: Chimanlal[4] and Munnalal say that they gave the verdict in your favour because

[1] A mediator
[2] *Vide* also the following item.
[3] Addressee's wife
[4] Chimanlal N. Shah

they were afraid of you. So I told them to rectify their error and give the correct verdict. How could you know how they had given the verdict? You were not guilty for you had accepted the verdict. If anyone had to atone, the judges should have done it for their own weakness.

Now about the five rupees. In my view, we are the trustees and so we have no right to bid. We do not get donations for this purpose. You have no money, that is, you should have no money. Thus your bidding had both these blemishes. You had no right to bid with the Ashram money and bidding itself is an evil, indicating pride. What value can be attached to the labourers saying that they will give the five rupees? You did not bid with their consent. And such consultation and consent would also be improper.

All these things should teach us not to lament over anything.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1936

32. *TELEGRAM TO ORISSA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE*[1]

[On or before *September 25, 1940*][2]

AWAIT MY RETURN FROM SIMLA.

The Bombay Chronicle, 26-9-1940

[1] This was in reply to a telegram from the addressee, alleging "seizure of pamphlets by the police from Congress offices in Koraput District". The report also said that "pamphlets in Oriya which were issued by the Provincial Congress Committee related to the Congress Working Committee's resolution regarding 'compulsory subscription to the war fund'."

[2] The telegram was reported under the date-line "Cuttack, September 25".

33. I WONDER

> For some time you seem to have made it a point to strengthen your arguments in favour of non-violence by frequent but invariably vague references to the Holy Koran and the teachings of Islam. It is quite obvious that you only seek to impress the Muslims thereby. . . . Similarly, it is quite understandable that you should pat the fifth-columnist Mussalmans like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Abul Kalam Azad on the back. But can't you realize that nothing can offend the religious susceptibilities of a Mussalman more than to see a non-Muslim citing the scripture for his own purpose? . . . The fact stands out that you are a non-Muslim. Hence the Koran cannot be the source of your ideas or ideals. . . . It is my friendly advice to you to stop forthwith all reference to the Koran. . . .

This letter[1] is from an M. A. (Aligarh). He is a research scholar in the Muslim University. The letter was received some time ago. I kept it in my file so long, for I was debating whether it would serve the cause of unity to publish it. But having received another from the same friend more unbalanced than this one, I decided to publish the foregoing in order to enable me to expostulate with those who in Aligarh or outside hold views similar to the writer's.

I have sweet memories of Aligarh. I have more than once visited the great university. I have still associations with it. I think I am an honorary member of their club. I received[2] the honour at the hands of the late Dr. Sir Ross Masood when he was Vice-Chancellor of the university. As for the Holy Koran, it was my Muslim clients and friends in South Africa who invited me to read it. They furnished me with Islamic literature. On my return to India, Muslim friends sent me copies of translations of the holy book. Among the senders was Dr. Mahomed Ali, himself a translator, and the late Mr. Pickthall, also a translator of the book. I was presented by the late Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan with Maulana Shibli's translation. Have I changed or have the times so changed that it has become a crime for a non-Muslim like me to read and even dare to put his own interpretation upon the Koran? Many pious

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

[2] On November 3, 1929; *vide* Vol. XLII, p. 153.

Muslims have remarked that I am a better Muslim than most Muslims in that I act in the spirit of the Koran and know more of the life of the Prophet than most Muslims. Whose testimony am I to accept—these Muslim friends' or the research scholar's and of those who think like him—I wonder.

The research scholar is right in imputing to me the desire to read my meaning into the Koran. Surely there is no harm in it so long as I remain absolutely faithful to the text and approach my task with a prayerful and open mind. My correspondent should know as a scholar that an interpretation of a life or a book is not necessarily correct because it has been handed down for generations. An error does not cease to be one after a given number of repetitions by a given number of men for a given number of years. The Biblical texts are still being corrected. And many good Christians believe that the Christianity of the West is a negation of Christ's central teaching. It is just possible that the research scholar's views about the qualifications required for reading and interpreting the Koran and his own interpretation are wrong, and that my being a non-Muslim is no bar to my reading the Koran or interpreting it. And it is not at all impossible that my interpretation may be found to be right. It will be an evil day if the reading and interpreting of religious books are to be confined only to those who wear particular religious labels. I ask my correspondent and his companions, as their friend, to shed what in my opinion is their gross intolerance and give the same credit to others for seeing truth as they claim for themselves. No one has a monopoly of truth. All truth represented by imperfect humans that we are is relative. We can each act according to our lights. God alone knows the reality. That being so, it behoves research scholars at least to be humble and tolerant. Fanaticism and intolerance can neither conduce to research work nor advance the cause they represent.

SEVAGRAM, September 25, 1940

Harijan, 29-9-1940

34. SOME CRITICISM ANSWERED

The recent resolution of the A.I.C.C. and my speeches before the meeting have come in for much criticism, if they have earned some praise. Of the criticism there are two items which I must attempt to answer. For they are of permanent interest. *The Times of India* of the 17th instant in its temperate criticism[1] takes me to task for my statement[2] that 'the peoples of Europe do not know what they are fighting for'. It was bound to be resented. But truth, though seemingly harsh, has to be uttered when utterance becomes relevant, indeed imperative. I believe that the utterance had become overdue. I must say why I think that the warring nations do not know what they are fighting for. I had used the expression 'warring nations', not 'peoples of Europe'. This is not a distinction without a difference. I have distinguished between the nations and their leaders. The leaders of course know what they are fighting for. I make no admission that they are right. But neither the English nor the Germans nor the Italians know what they are fighting for except that they trust their leaders and therefore follow them. I submit that this is not enough when the stake is so bloody and staggering as during the present war. It is perhaps common cause that Germans and Italians do not know why English children should be slaughtered in cold blood and beautiful English homes should be destroyed. But *The Times*'s claim probably is that the British people know what they are fighting for. When I asked the British soldiers in South Africa during the Boer War they could not tell me what they were fighting for. 'Theirs was' surely 'not to reason why'. They did not even know where they were being marched to. The British people would not be able to give me a more satisfying answer, if I happened to be in London and asked them why their soldiers were working havoc in Berlin. If the Press accounts are to be relied upon, British skill and valour have wrought more havoc in Berlin than have the Germans in London. What wrong have the German people done to the British people?

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.
[2] *Vide* p. 17.

Their leaders have. Hang them by all means, but why destroy German homes and German civilian life? What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans and the homeless whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty or democracy? I assert in all humility, but with all the strength at my command, that liberty and democracy become unholy when their hands are dyed red with innocent blood. I hear the living Christ saying: 'These so-called children of mine know not what they are doing. They take my Father's name in vain, for they disobey the central command of my Father!'[1] If my ears do not deceive, I have erred in good company, if I have erred at all.

And why have I uttered the truth? Because I am confident that God has made me the instrument of showing the better way. If Britain seeks justice, she must appear before the imperial court of God with clean hands. She will not defend liberty and democracy by following totalitarian methods so far as war is concerned. She will not be able to retrace her steps after out-Hitlering Hitler in war. The last war is a resounding lesson. Her victory, if attained, will be a snare and a delusion. I know mine is a voice in the wilderness. But it will some day ring true. If liberty and democracy are to be truly saved, they will only be by non-violent resistance no less brave, no less glorious, than violent resistance. And it will be infinitely braver, and more glorious because it will give life without taking any.

Now I come to *The Statesman*'s article[2] of 17th[3] September. I am sorry to say, it is intemperate and written in anger. It is full of palpable mistakes (to use a mild word), no doubt unconscious. But I am not concerned with the intemperance of language. In the fierce heat of battle unknown before, the wonder is that the intemperance one sees sometimes is not much greater than it is.

Here is the cream of the heavy indictment:

> We have often expressed our view about the fundamental immorality and contradictory character of the doctrine. Non-co-operation is a method of war and not of peace. . . . It carries with it a pretentious claim to spiritual value which involved sanctimonious insincerities and mass hypocrisy masking intensified hatreds . . . A nation which accepted this doctrine would doom itself to slavery.

[1] *St. Luke*, xxiii. 34, and *St. Matthew*, vii. 21, 22

[2] *Vide* Appendix II.

[3] The source, however, has "18".

This is all contrary to the history of our own times in India. I claim that there is nothing immoral in non-violent non-co-operation. Violent resistance is itself non-co-operation, and it is immoral because of its violence. It becomes moral when it is non-violent. Non-co-operation with evil is a sacred duty. It is essentially spiritual because of its non-violent character. The adjectives used by the writer would be deserved if it was non-violent in name only. For the present argument I must take the genuine article. Now for the facts. Non-violent non-co-operation, however imperfect it was, has redeemed India at least somewhat from the slavery under which she was groaning. It has raised India from the slough of despond, and has brought her prestige which nothing else could have. I make bold to say that, if the non-violence offered had been not adulterated, its effect would have been still more visible. My greatest claim, however, is that it is this despised non-violent resistance which hitherto saved India from anarchy and red ruin. It is not yet entirely saved. If it is to be saved, it will only be by the non-violent method. I invite the *Statesman* writer to test the truth of my statement. He will have many infallible proofs in its support. A dispassionate study will enable him to serve both Britain and India.

ON THE WAY TO SIMLA, September 25, 1940

Harijan, 29-9-1940

35. SIKHS AND THE SWORD

The reader will find in another column copies of correspondence between Master Tara Singh and myself. My letter[1] was addressed to him as a friend. I had no wish to see it published as it certainly compromised him, as did also his letter to the Maulana Saheb. Master Tara Singh has turned to me for advice on several occasions, my relations with the Sikhs being of the friendliest nature. I flatter myself with the belief that on occasions I have saved the community against itself.

But Master Tara Singh asked me for permission to publish the correspondence which I readily gave. I would still have refrained from entering into a public discussion of it but for the fact that my advice is being grossly distorted, and that I have

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXII, pp. 395-6.

received a pressing letter from nationalist Sikhs who do not share Master Tara Singh's views and who accept the Congress non-violence and its discipline. In their letter they say:

> Your letter to Master Tara Singh is grossly misinterpreted in the Punjab Press and especially in the Akali circles. They say that you wrote to Master Tara Singh that the whole Sikh *panth* is a believer in violence, hence useless and unsuitable to remain in the Congress. We think that your letter was a personal one and referred to Master Tara Singh or his party only. But the Akali party has raised a storm of agitation on this account.

My letter is absolutely clear. It applies only to Master Tara Singh and those whom he represents. It can apply to the whole of the Sikh community only if they accept Master Tara Singh as their undisputed leader. I knew when I answered the letter that at best he represented only a portion of the great community. I knew then that there were many nationalist Sikhs who are as much nationalist as I. My letter to Master Tara Singh lays down general propositions of universal application, though stated in connection with a concrete case which was put before me for advice. Shorn of its concreteness it simply means that (1) the Congress is pledged to a non-violent policy; (2) therefore no one who does not believe in that policy can belong to the Congress; (3) the Congress is a purely nationalist, non-communal organization; (4) therefore no one with a communal bias should belong to it; (5) the Congress being a non-violent organization and being a determined opponent of imperialism, anyone belonging to it will have little hearing from imperialist Britain so long as the Congress retains its policy and is 'at war with' imperialism.

Those, therefore, who misrepresent my letter in the way they are reported to have done, cannot harm me, but deprive themselves of the services and advice of one who has been their faithful servant for practically twenty years.

Master Tara Singh has sent me an angry letter in reply to mine. As it contains no new argument, I refrain from publishing it in these columns. But it is necessary to correct one error. In my attempt to solve the Hindu-Muslim tangle I have been represented as having abandoned the Congress position as stated in its famous Lahore resolution[1] on the communal question. That resolution is a sacred trust, and so far as I am concerned, when

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLII, pp. 320-2 and 359.

and if the time arrives for a solution of the communal problems, full effect will be given to the Lahore resolution. No non-violent solution is possible without the association of all parties concerned. I, therefore, urge Sikh friends not to come to hasty conclusions but to judge everything dispassionately. Anger is short madness, and it hurts those that are consciously or unconsciously betrayed into it.

ON THE WAY TO SIMLA, September 25, 1940

Harijan, 29-9-1940

36. RAJAJI'S POSTSCRIPT

MY DEAR GANDHIJI,

I had the advantage of reading the leading article[1] of September 22 in manuscript at Poona through the courtesy of Shri Chandrashanker[2]. I quite understand why you wrote the article, but I wished I could stop its publication or add my remarks to it. Reading the article in print now I think I had better explain my position.

I do not feel that you exposed me to any ridicule. I was not worried over the attacks made at Bombay on the Poona resolution. I am not the least bit sorry for the Poona resolution. It expressed what we felt was the right thing to do under the circumstances. The British Government did not agree, and in consequence the proposal has failed. That, however, does not make any difference as to the validity of the reasons that led to it. Almost the entire body of intelligent public opinion in India welcomed the Poona resolution. You, of course, considered it wrong because it involved participation in war, be it even for the defence of India. There were some who feared that the resolution might be accepted by the British Government and involve us in co-operation with Britain which was distasteful to them. There are some people for whom the deciding consideration is success. They feel it a disgrace to make a proposal which is turned down. There are again some who desire the maturing of chaos in which alone they see hope for the future of our country, and they would oppose anything that would retard the progress of this fermentation of chaos. Barring these groups the vast body of enlightened opinion in the country enthusiastically approved of the proposal made at Poona, namely, that if Britain acknowledged the right of India to the status of an independent nation and set up a truly national government composed of leaders of the various groups among

[1] *Vide* pp. 31-3.
[2] Chandrashanker Shukla

the present elected legislators in the Central Assembly, the deadlock should stand resolved. You hold the view that the Congress should as from now work for the abolition of war. The fulfilment of our national goal is inextricably connected, according to you, with that mission. You are, therefore, of opinion that it is a grievous error to participate in the present war effort under any conditions. I believe also that the world should reach peace and abolish wars as soon as possible. But the pathway to it lies, in my opinion, in education in the highest sense in international co-operation and not in finding alternative weapons to defeat one another's ambitions and aims. Unlike you, I do not feel glad that the British rejected our offer on the ground that it has saved us our pacifism.

I do not support the Bombay resolution[1] because the Poona resolution was wrong. My support is based on the following grounds.

It is wrong for the British to declare that the Indian people were in a state of war against any other nation without asking them about it. War does not mean only payment of some money and manufacturing munitions. It can easily lead up to all that is happening in London, and should be dealt with on that footing. Four hundred millions of human beings cannot be thrown into such a condition against their own will or without asking them. It is possible for us to recognize the justice of Britain's case against Germany without having to join in it and extend the tragedy beyond the necessary limits. America refuses to enter the war though it may give judgment in favour of Britain. We have not entered the Sino-Japanese war in spite of the justice of China's cause.

The Poona proposal sought to make participation consistent with self-respect and fruitful. But the proposal was rejected by the British Government. India is, therefore, entitled to refuse to participate in the war. But she is forced to contribute and participate on the basis that India is an imperial possession without any independent status or the right to choose between war and neutrality. The case for Britain is that the help taken from India is voluntary. This claim can be justified, or at least the objection can be reduced to the minimum, if those who preach non-participation are not suppressed by imprisonment. It could then be claimed that such Indian co-operation that comes in spite of such appeals against participation is truly voluntary. This much should be conceded to mitigate the offence of dragging the Indian people into the horrors of modern war without their consent.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

MADRAS, September 23, 1940

[1] *Vide* pp. 1-3.

Rajaji would not be Rajaji, if he took notice of ridicule. From his own standpoint his position is unassailable. But it therefore does not cease to be a denial of the last twenty years' past of the Congress. If the Poona gesture had received the response it deserved, from being peace-minded the Congress would suddenly have become war-minded—a feat which even Rajaji would have failed to perform. But all this is past. Nor is it relevant to my confession and Rajaji's postscript.

ON THE TRAIN TO SIMLA, September 25, 1940

Harijan, 29-9-1940

37. *LETTER TO G. N. KANITKAR*

On THE TRAIN,
September 25, 1940

DEAR BALU KAKA,

I had your *Gita* for which many thanks. I don't write because there is nothing to write about.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 969. Courtesy: Gajanan N. Kanitkar

38. *LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ*

On THE TRAIN,
September 25, 1940

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I read your account of the Jaipur incident only today. I sat down to write about the matter in *Harijan*, but then decided not to write just now. I felt that if I wrote, you would attract all the more attention, and so gave up the idea. But if you think that my writing will do any good, I am prepared to write. How is your health and that of Rajendra Babu? I am going to Simla. I will return to Sevagram on Sunday or Monday.

I hope the work there is progressing to your satisfaction.

Blessings from
BAPU

[illegible] photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3015

39. *LETTER TO M. M. MALAVIYA*

On the Train,
September 25, 1940

REVERED BHAI SAHEB,

I received your letter. I shall certainly strive to prevent a clash and if a clash does occur, it will be in spite of myself. What should I write about fasting?[1] The matter is not really in my hands. I hope you are well.

Yours,
M. K. Gandhi

From the Hindi original: Padmakant Malaviya Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

40. *MESSAGE TO MIRAJ KHADI EXHIBITION*

[On or before *September 28, 1940*][2]

There are many aspects of khadi; amongst them the spiritual one I hold uppermost and the economic one next. For their fulfilment, all can extend their help; nay, they ought to. In fact, it is the Princes who ought to come forward first of all. It is to their good that Princes are also partaking in the Miraj Exhibition.[3] I hope the exhibition will be a success.

The Hindu, 29-9-1940

[1] The addressee had appealed to Gandhiji to avoid at all cost the reported fast; *vide* also "Fasting in Satyagraha", 8-10-1940.

[2] The message was reported under the date-line "Miraj, September 28".

[3] According to the source, the exhibition was to be opened on September 29 by the Raja Saheb of Aundh.

41. SIND HINDUS

Shri Shamlal Gidwani writes a letter on the situation in Sind from which I quote the following:[1]

At the same time that I received this letter, I saw in the papers that five Hindus were shot dead openly while they were pursuing their normal business. As usual the murderers have not been traced. Is this a plan of terrorism to drive the Hindus out of Sind, or is it something else? Someone in Sind ought to be able to answer the question.

Shri Gidwani does not subscribe to non-violence. He thinks that my advice is contrary to the teachings of Lord Krishna. He thinks, for (to himself) very good reasons, that the Hindus cannot act non-violently. For equally good reasons he thinks they cannot migrate. But he would like me to advise them to defend themselves by arms. This is like asking a nature-cure physician to prescribe allopathic drugs. Can he be trusted to prescribe the right drugs? And what will my advice be worth when my own hands are incapable of wielding arms? Shri Gidwani should go to a physician who knows the business and will, on due occasion, run to the rescue and always be ready to give the necessary training. I have said that for those who do not believe in non-violence armed defence is the only remedy. But if I am asked to advise how it can be done, I can only say, 'I do not know.'

But Shri Gidwani is trifling with the crisis when he lazily looks up to me to guide Sind Hindus on impossible terms. If he sincerely believes in the solution he has proposed, he must himself take the training at once and lead the terrified Hindus of Sind along the path of armed defence. It is wrong for the leaders of Sind to look for outside help. They should cease to write. They should seriously think out a plan of action, violent or non-violent, and follow it up firmly and bravely.

I venture also to suggest to the responsible Muslims of Sind that their reputation is at stake. If they cannot stop those senseless murders of innocent people, history will find them guilty. They will never persuade anybody that they are helpless to deal with the mischief. Such acts are impossible without

[1] The letter is not reproduced here.

the silent sympathy of the society to which the perpetrators of murders belong.

SIMLA, September 28, 1940

Harijan, 6-10-1940

42. *INTERESTING PARALLEL*

Shri A. Choudhary, who has come to non-violence after much travail, sends the following interesting letter:

> Looking through some Press articles about Trotsky[1] after his recent murder, I came across the following remarkable fact: When the Bolsheviks captured power after the October revolution in 1917, the Soviet Government negotiated for peace with Germany. The German Government .offered very severe terms. Trotsky thought that the moral effect of the revolution was so great that the German Government would find it impossible to move their armies against Russia. So, rather than submit to those terms, he declared that the Soviet Government considered war to be at an end and so would demobilize their armies, and actually proceeded to do so. The Germans continued to advance and later on they concluded a severer treaty.
>
> Do you not think this to be an unconscious and partial realization by the revolutionary leader of the possibility of resisting foreign aggression without an army? The cause of the failure is obvious. They had never consciously accepted non-violence or prepared for it. Trotsky's action amounted to non-resistance, not active non-violent appeal.
>
> There are instances in the history of the Russian Revolution of unarmed masses or workers facing the military forces in face of rifle fire in the hope of winning them over and actually doing so. These I hold to be an unorganized and unconscious adoption of the non-violent technique, by the masses in the streets. But Trotsky's instance shows that a responsible revolutionary statesman, having nothing to do with non-violence, could, in the light of revolutionary experience, think the 'silly' course now advocated by you to be a possible one, and actually experiment with it.
>
> Why should not we, with twenty years' tradition of non-violent action, not only experiment with it, but hope for certain success? I for myself

[1] Lev Davidovich Trotsky (1897-1940), Russian politician, whose real name was Bronstein, escaped to England in 1902 under the name Trotsky. Opposed to war, he played important part in organizing the 1917 Bolshevik revolution. In 1936, he was accused of joining a plot to murder Stalin but repudiated the charge. On August 20, 1940, Trotsky was attacked by a 'friend', described as a Stalinist agent. He died the next day.

have begun to believe that of all forms of non-violent action, resistance to foreign aggression is the easiest one, and the first one likely to be completely successful.

SIMLA, September 28, 1940

Harijan, 6-10-1940

43. TELEGRAM TO A. K. CHANDA[1]

[*September 28, 1940*][2]

YOUR TELEGRAM.[3] MAY GOD PULL GURUDEV THROUGH AND KEEP HIM A WHILE FOR HUMANITY AS HE HAS DONE BEFORE.

GANDHI

Harijan, 6-10-1940. Also from a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

44. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

MANORVILLE, SIMLA W.,
September 28, 1940

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I have just received your letter[4] of yesterday's date.

According to your wont you thank *me* for taking up so much of your time yesterday. I fear I must not accept the thanks. For they are all due to you for allowing me to make my long statement without showing impatience or irritation. Please accept them.

[1]&[2] Secretary to Rabindranath Tagore. The telegram is quoted by Mahadev Desai in a postscript to his article "Come Thou in a Shower of Compassion", bearing the date-line "Simla, September 28, 1940". Mahadev Desai says that the telegram was sent "immediately" on receipt of the addresee's, which arrived after the article was "sent to the post".

[3] Pyarelal Papers, however, has: "Yours received." The addressee's telegram read: "Gurudev dangerously ill. Being removed Calcutta tonight accompanied by Calcutta doctors."

[4] Which read: "I am grateful to you for giving me so much of your time this afternoon. I suggest that we should resume our conversation on Tuesday at 2.45 p.m., if that would be convenient for you. I had already planned to be away from Simla tomorrow and on Sunday and, as I know that Monday is your Day of Silence, I do not wish to suggest anything to you on that day."

I thank you for so promptly sending me an appointment for Tuesday. If it is the same thing to you, I would like the appointment for Monday at 2.45 p.m. I can take my silence early tomorrow so as to finish in time for the appointment on Monday.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

45. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

September 28, 1940

CHI. A. SALAAM,

You also should learn to read Gujarati. I hope everything is going on well, and you are happy. I will have to be in Simla a little longer. Work should be over by Monday at the latest. Recover your health fully. Remember what I have told you. Master Hindi spelling.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 434

46. DISGRACEFUL IF TRUE

A correspondent sends me a bitter letter which I reproduce after removing some choice adjectives which he has used:[1]

I have several letters in confirmation of the general charge of indecent behaviour of these 'soldiers'. One letter says that a philanthropic lady had invited these and Indian soldiers to tea. The Indians responded. Of over 250 Australians invited about eight responded. The poor lady, it is said, was frantic with grief, and phoned to know why her Australian guests had not turned up. 'They have gone out, they are not ready,' was the answer.

When I was in Bombay I had heard of this wild behaviour. I was inclined to discount the stories that came to me of their alleged misbehaviour. Some of them were at the station

[1] The letter, not reproduced here, gave an account of the rowdy and indecent behaviour of Australian soldiers in Bombay.

when I took the train for Wardha. I mentioned to them the complaints that were brought to my notice. They promised to set things right. Evidently they had no influence over their companions. They did say to me, they had not been in touch with one another before their enlistment.

Be that as it may, the menace should be sternly dealt with. I did mention the matter to H.E. the Viceroy. He promised to investigate. He admitted that the thing was serious if it was true. I suppose colour prejudice is as strong in Australia as in South Africa. The coloured man is dirt. There shall be no equality between the whites and the coloured races. Thus runs the South African constitution. The white man thinks that a nation containing forty crores of people and ruled by one hundred thousand white men can only be treated as the Australian soldiers are reported to have regarded our girls, the victoriawallas and even the Indian police. The war has made no difference in the behaviour of the white man.

Two questions emerge from the incidents, assuming them to have happened as reported. All the letters received by me cannot be inventions of fertile brains. What notice have the immediate authorities taken of the allegations? The Viceroy is but one man. If every ugly incident has to go up to him for redress, the system under which this has to happen is bad. There is gross indiscipline among the subordinates in so far as justice to the people is concerned. It is plain sailing when the power of the bayonet is to be exhibited. Then the Viceroy and the subordinate service can act as one man. The sinister inference from this phenomenon is that the subordinate service is the supreme authority and the Viceroy a mere figure-head. The most striking though painful illustration of the truth was furnished by the subordinate authority combining to break to pieces the Gandhi-Irwin pact[1]. Had it not been wantonly disregarded by the subordinate service, history would certainly have been written differently. But there was no Irwin spirit behind the service. The question, therefore, is, in the present instance, what has the G.O.C. of the Australian contingent done with his men? Had he issued instructions to them as to their behaviour in the midst of a mild population? What did the Commissioner of Police do? What did the Collector do? And what did H.E. the Governor do?

The second question is equally important—what have the people done to protect girls from the barbarity to which they

[1] Of March 5, 1931; *vide* Vol. XLV, Appendix VI.

were exposed? What has the Mayor[1] done to vindicate the honour of the women living within his jurisdiction? True, he has no executive authority. But he is not the mere chairman of the Corporation. His status carries with it a dignity and prestige which should enable him to move the authorities concerned in the right direction. What has the Bombay Congress Committee done? What has the man in the street done? If the facts are correctly represented, they constitute a serious blot on everyone concerned. If there was public spirit, violent or non-violent, no one, white or brown, would dare to touch a girl against her will.

The matter demands thorough investigation.

SIMLA, September 29, 1940

Harijan, 6-10-1940

47. *NOTES*

ILLEGAL LEVY?

This is a typical letter[2]. In some shape or other things go on like this. I call it an illegal levy. Any passenger who will take the trouble can decline to pay the levy and tender the scheduled fare and demand a seat in the bus. If he is rejected, he has a cause of action. So far as I know, it is not the Government policy to compel people to give donations. There is legal compulsion enough for the purposes of the war. Even that is being carried too far and is causing resentment. But it becomes intense when to this legal levy is added the illegal one miscalled donations. It is indecent to legalize arbitrary exactions. It is doubly indecent to connive at illegalities. I can only hope that these will be stopped altogether. There should be no engineering of war contributions. If they are to be spontaneous, let the people send what they like to the appointed depots. This will be a true test of the strength of voluntary effort.

[1] Mathuradas Trikumji; *vide* also "Letter to Mathuradas Trikumji", 7-10-1940.

[2] The letter, not reproduced here, described how the police forced bus-owners at Alibag, Kolaba, to contribute half anna on every ticket sold as war gift and how they were charging it to the passengers.

A Christian Student's Complaint

An Indian Christian student from a missionary college in Bengal writes:[1]

Of late I have written a great deal against strikes by students. I do not know the name of the college. Had I known it, I would have sought verification from the authorities. Therefore I base my opinion on the assumption that the facts are correctly stated by my correspondent. If they are, I am happy to be able to say that this strike was thoroughly justified. And I hope that it was wholly spontaneous and successful. Whether the song is in fact national or not is not for the missionaries concerned to determine. For them it is surely enough to know that their students recognize the song as national. Professors and teachers, if they are to be popular with their pupils, have to identify themselves with their activities and aspirations so long as they are not unhealthy or immoral.

SIMLA, September 29, 1940

Harijan, 6-10-1940

48. *PHYSICAL TRAINING AND AHIMSA*[2]

Part of the course in physical training schools and gymnasia is a training in the use of the sword, the spear and similar weapons. The Congress volunteers are taught various kinds of drill, and in many places are given also the training I have mentioned. I have received a number of letters asking for my views on the subject from the point of view of ahimsa.

Before I proceed to state my views, it is necessary to mention an important fact, viz., that physical fitness is the only thing examined in case of candidates intending to be recruited for a violent army. Old men, women, and raw youth are not regarded as eligible. Nor are those suffering from disease fit to be chosen. And it is necessary to insist on this rule in selecting these recruits.

But the standard is quite the contrary for selecting recruits for a non-violent body. The chief thing to test is the candidate's mental fitness. And so such a body may have old men,

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent said that the students of the college had called a strike in protest against the Principal objecting to the singing of *Vandemataram* in a programme.

[2] This appeared as "translated from Gujarati", originally published in *Harijanbandhu*, 5-10-1940.

women, raw youth, the blind and the lame, and even lepers, and it would bid fare to win. The ability to kill requires training. The ability to die is there in him who has the will for it. One can conceive of a child of ten or twelve being a perfect satyagrahi; indeed we come across such in daily life. But for such a child to be recruited for a violent army is out of the question. In spite of the best will in the world he cannot have the physical fitness.

But to say that lepers and children are eligible for a non-violent army is not to say that a non-violent person need have no regard for physical fitness. Ahimsa requires certain duties which can be done only by those with a trained physique. It is therefore most necessary to consider what kind of physical training a non-violent person should receive.

Very few of the rules applying to a violent army will apply to a non-violent body. A violent army will not have its arms for show but definitely for destructive purposes. A non-violent body will have no use for such weapons and will therefore beat its swords into plough-shares and spears into pruning hooks, and will shrink from the thought of using them as lethal weapons. The violent soldier will be trained in the use of violence by being taught to shoot. The non-violent soldier will have no time for this pastime. He will get all his training through nursing the sick, saving those in danger at the risk of his own life, patrolling places which may be in fear of thieves and dacoits, and in laying down his life, if necessary, in dissuading them from their purpose. Even the uniforms of the two will differ. The violent man will wear a coat of mail for his protection, and his uniform will be such as can dazzle people. The uniform of the non-violent man will be simple, in conformity with the dress of the poor, and betokening humility. Its purpose will be just to keep him from heat and cold and rain. A violent soldier's protection will be his arms, no matter how much he takes God's name. He will not shrink from spending millions on armaments. The first and last shield and buckler of the non-violent person will be his unwavering faith in God. And the minds of the two will be as poles asunder. The violent man will always be casting about for plans to work the destruction of his enemy and will pray to God to fulfil his purpose. The national anthem of the British people is worth considering in this connection. It prays to God to save the King, to frustrate the enemy's knavish tricks, and to destroy him. Millions of Englishmen sing this anthem aloud with one voice standing respectfully. If God is the Incarnation

of Mercy, He is not likely to listen to such prayer, but it cannot but affect the minds of those who sing it, and in times of war it simply kindles their hatred and anger to white heat. The one condition of winning a violent war is to keep the indignation against the enemy burning fiercely. In the dictionary of the non-violent there is no such word as an external enemy. But even for the supposed enemy he will have nothing but compassion in his heart. He will believe that no man is intentionally wicked, that there is no man but is gifted with the faculty to discriminate between right and wrong, and that if that faculty were to be fully developed, it would surely mature into non-violence. He will therefore pray to God that He may give the supposed enemy a sense of right and bless him. His prayer for himself will always be that the spring of compassion in him may ever be flowing, and that he may ever grow in moral strength so that he may face death fearlessly.

Thus since the minds of both will differ as the poles, their physical training will also differ in the same degree.

We all know more or less what military training is like. But we have hardly ever thought that non-violent training must be of a different kind. Nor have we ever cared to discover whether in the past such training was given anywhere in the world. I am of opinion that it used to be given in the past and is even now being given in a haphazard way. The various exercises of Hatha Yoga are in this direction. The physical training given by means of these imparts among other things physical health, strength, agility, and the capacity to bear heat and cold. Shri Kuvalayanandji is making scientific researches in the technique and benefits of these exercises. I have no knowledge of the progress he has made, nor do I know whether he is making his experiments with ahimsa as his goal. My reference to Hatha Yoga is meant only with a view to showing that this ancient type of non-violent training still exists, though I know that there is room in it for improvement. I do not know either that the author of this science had any idea of mass non-violence. The exercises had at their back the desire for individual salvation. The object of the various exercises was to strengthen and purify the body in order to secure control of the mind. The mass non-violence we are now thinking of applies to people of all religions, and therefore the rules that may be framed must be such as can be accepted by all believers in ahimsa. And then as we are thinking of a non-violent army, that is to say of bringing into being a Satyagraha Sangh, we can but build anew accepting

the old as our foundation. Let us then think of the physical training required by a satyagrahi. If the satyagrahi is not healthy in mind and body, he may perhaps fail in mustering complete fearlessness. He should have the capacity to stand guard at a single spot day and night; he must not fall ill even if he has to bear cold and heat and rain; he must have the strength to go to places of peril, to rush to scenes of fire, and the courage to wander about alone in desolate jungles and haunts of death; he will bear, without a grumble, severe beatings, starvation and worse, and will keep to his post of duty without flinching; he will have the resourcefulness and capacity to plunge into a seemingly impenetrable scene of rioting; he will have the longing and capacity to run with the name of God on his lips to the rescue of men living on the top storeys of buildings enveloped in flames; he will have the fearlessness to plunge into a flood in order to rescue people being carried off by it or to jump down a well to save a drowning person.

This list can be extended *ad libitum*. The substance of it all is that we should cultivate the capacity to run to the rescue of people in danger and distress, and to suffer cheerfully any amount of hardship that may be inflicted upon us. He who accepts this fundamental principle will easily be able to frame rules of physical training for satyagrahis. I have a firm conviction that the very foundation of this training is faith in God. If that is absent, all the training one may have received is likely to fail at the critical moment.

Let no one pooh-pooh my statement by saying that the Congress has many people who are ashamed to take the name of God. I am simply trying to state the view in terms of the science of satyagraha as I have known and developed it. The only weapon of the satyagrahi is God, by whatsoever name one knows Him. Without Him the satyagrahi is devoid of strength before an opponent armed with monstrous weapons. Most people lie prostrate before physical might. But he who accepts God as his only Protector will remain unbent before the mightiest earthly power. As faith in God is essential in a satyagrahi, even so is *brahmacharya*. Without *brahmacharya* the satyagrahi will have no lustre, no inner strength to stand unarmed against the whole world. *Brahmacharya* may have here the restricted meaning of conservation of the vital energy brought about by sexual restraint, and not the comprehensive definition I have given of it. He who intends to live on spare diet, and without any external remedies, and still wants to have physical strength, has need to

conserve his vital energy. It is the richest capital man can ever possess. He who can preserve it ever gains renewed strength out of it. He who uses it up, consciously or unconsciously, will ultimately be impotent. His strength will fail him at the right moment. I have often written about the ways and means of conserving this energy. Let the reader turn to my writings and carry out the instructions. He who lusts with the eye or the touch can never conserve his vital energy, nor the man who lusts after flesh-pots. Those who hope to conserve this energy without strict observance of the rules will no more succeed than those who hope to swim against the current without being exhausted. He who restrains himself physically and sins with his thoughts will fare worse than he who, without professing to observe *brahmacharya*, lives the life of a restrained householder. For he who lusts with the thought will ever remain unsated and will end his life a moral wreck and burden on the earth. Such a one can never be a full satyagrahi. Nor can one who hankers after wealth and fame.

This is the foundation of the physical training for a satyagrahi. The detailed structure of the course can easily be built in consonance with this foundation.

It should now be clear that in the physical training of a satyagrahi there is no room for lethal weapons like the sword or the spear. For far more terrible weapons than we have seen are in existence today, and newer ones are being invented every day. Of what fear will a sword rid him who has to cultivate the capacity to overcome all fear—real or imaginary? I have not yet heard of a man having shed all fear by learning sword-play. Mahavir and others who imbibed ahimsa did not do so because they knew the use of weapons, but because in spite of the knowledge of their use they shed all fear.

A slight introspection will show that he who has always depended on the sword will find it difficult to throw it away. But having deliberately discarded it he is likely to find his ahimsa more lasting than that of him who, not knowing its use, fancies he will not fear it. But that does not mean that in order to be truly non-violent one must beforehand possess and know the use of arms. By parity of reasoning, one might say that only a thief can be honest, only a diseased person can be healthy, and only a dissolute person can be a *brahmachari*. The fact is that we have formed the habit of thinking along traditional grooves and will not get out of them. And as we cannot take a detached

view, we cannot draw the right conclusions, and get caught in delusive snares.

If I have the time, I hope to present the reader with a model course of training.

SIMLA, September 29, 1940

Harijan, 13-10-1940

49. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

[On or before *September 30, 1940*][2]

I know that khaddar is not very much in vogue in Simla. I hope that people will realize their duty towards the poor and will consequently take to khadi. It has pained me to learn that in Simla there is going on the sale and purchase of such khadi as is not duly certified by the All-India Spinners' Association. My pain is the greater because this is being done even by office-bearers of the Congress. I hope that anyone who is anywhere dealing in or purchasing uncertified khadi will stop doing so.

The Hindu, 18-10-1940

50. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

September 30, 1940

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I have your letter[3] of even date. It fairly sets forth the Congress position as I placed it before you. It is a matter of deep regret to me that the Government have not been able to appreciate the Congress position, meant just to satisfy the bare requirements of the people, whether Congressmen or others, who felt a conscientious objection to helping a war to which they were never invited and which they regard, so far as they are concerned, as one for saving imperialism, of which India is the greatest victim. Their objection is just as conscientious as mine as a war resister. I cannot claim greater freedom for my conscience than for that of those I have named.

[1] & [2] The statement was reported as issued by Gandhiji "during his recent visit to Simla". Gandhiji left Simla on September 30, 1940.

[3] For the text of the Viceroy's letter, *vide* Appendix III.

As I made it plain in the course of our talks, the Congress is as much opposed to victory for Nazism as any Britisher can be. But their objection cannot be carried to the extent of their participation in the war. And since you and the Secretary of State for India have declared that the whole of India is voluntarily helping the war effort, it becomes necessary to make clear that the vast majority of the people of India are not interested in it. They make no distinction between Nazism and the double autocracy that rules India. Had His Majesty's Government recognized the freedom required in the special condition of India, they would have justified the claim that they were receiving from India only such effort as they could voluntarily. The war party and the no-war party would have been placed on an equal footing so far as each worked fully non-violently.

As to the last paragraph of your letter, I wish to remind you that it was never contemplated to carry non-embarrassment to the point of self-extinction or, in other words, stopping all national activities which were designed to make India peace-minded and show that India's participation could not benefit anyone, not excluding Great Britain. Indeed I hold that, if India were left free to make her choice which freedom of speech implied, India would probably have turned the scales in favour of Britain and true liberty by the moral prestige which Britain would have then gained.

I must, therefore, repeat that the Congress does still want to refrain from embarrassing the British Government in their war effort. But it is impossible for the Congress to make of the policy a fetish by denying its creed at this critical period in the history of mankind. If the Congress has to die, it should do so in the act of proclaiming its faith. It is unfortunate that we have not been able to arrive at an agreement on the single issue of freedom of speech. But I shall hug the hope that it will be possible for the Government to work out their policy in the spirit of the Congress position.

I should like to touch upon the other points I raised in our talks. But for fear of burdening this reply, I refrain. I shall hope to make a public statement[1] on them as early as I can.

In conclusion, let me thank you publicly for the great courtesy and patience with which you listened to my very long statement and argument. And though our ways seem to diverge

[1] *Vide* pp. 77-80.

for the moment, our personal friendship will, as you have kindly said at the time of saying farewell, bear the strain of divergence.

As arranged I am handing our correspondence to the Press for publication.

Harijan, 6-10-1940

51. *LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE*[1]

DELHI,
October 1, 1940

DEAR GURUDEV,

You *must* stay yet awhile. Humanity needs you. I was pleased beyond measure to find that you were better.

With love.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 4653

52. *TO SATYAGRAHIS*[2]

Satyagrahis will not be impatient with me and argue with me or with themselves and say, 'When will you give the word? You have had your interview with the Viceroy. You have got what many of us had told you you would get'. Your telling me this or that mattered little. The attempt was worth making. I had told you that even if I did not get what I wanted from the Viceroy, I would bring from Simla added strength for myself. Who knows that to have added strength is not better than weak success. But my wisdom will be tested by the manner in which I use the strength. Maulana Saheb has called the Working Committee for the 11th instant. I hope, I shall be ready then with my plan of action. But whatever it is, it will be good only if it carries with it the united will of all Congressmen, if not the whole nation. Then the visible action even of one man will be enough for the purpose intended. Meanwhile

[1] The letter was carried by Mahadev Desai to the addressee in Calcutta. *Vide* also "Telegram to A. K. Chanda", p. 62.

[2] This appeared under "Notes".

please remember there is to be no civil disobedience, direct or indirect. Any breach of this will weaken the cause because it will unnerve your general who is susceptible to the slightest indiscipline. A general in action has no strength but what is given to him by his people.

ON THE TRAIN TO WARDHA, October 2, 1940

Harijan, 6-10-1940

53. *SPEECH AT WARDHA*[1]

October 2, 1940

In this Kali Yuga, you get more fruit for less work. It is an easy dharma to spin and weave, whereby you can achieve your objective and reach the goal. You are celebrating my birthday not because of my satyagraha but because of my inseparable connection with khadi. I desire that all villagers whether young or old should produce it and wear it.

Asked about his recent interview with the Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi said:

As the Viceroy refused my demand for liberty of speech, there is no way out now.

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-10-1940

54. *THE BREACH*[2]

It is my firm conviction that British statesmen have failed to do the right thing when it was easy to do it. If India is wholly in favour of participation in the war, they could have easily disregarded any hostile propaganda. But the determination to gag free expression of opinion, provided it was not in the least tainted with violence, shatters Britain's claim that India's participation is voluntary. Had the Congress proposal been accepted, such aid as Britain would have got from India would have been an asset of inestimable value. The non-violent party would have

[1] The report said: "Gandhiji was speaking at a meeting organized to celebrate his 72nd birthday. He distributed prizes to winners in spinning, carding and weaving competitions."

[2] This appeared under "Notes".

played an effective part for honourable peace when the proper time for it was in sight, as it must be some day. I have been shown *The Times* comment on the breach. I accept the compliment about my resourcefulness. But great as I believe it to be, I own that it has its limitations. There must be willingness on the other side. I regret to have to say, I wholly missed it at the interview. The Viceroy was all courtesy, but he was unbending, and believed in the correctness of his judgment, and as usual had no faith in that of nationalist India. The Britisher is showing extraordinary bravery on the battle-field in a marvellous manner. But he lacks bravery to take risks in the moral domain. I often wonder whether the latter has any place in British politics.

SEVAGRAM, October 3, 1940

Harijan, 6-10-1940

55. *LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH*

October 3, 1940

CHI. KUNVARJI[1],

I do not recollect getting Variava's[2] report. It is surprising that you cannot keep up your weight there. Do go to Mysore [for treatment]. I see nothing wrong in that. I have received Rs. 300 from Bombay. Will any more be coming?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9742. Also C.W. 722. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

[1] Husband of Gandhiji's grand-daughter, Rami

[2] A Parsi doctor who attended on Gandhiji in 1939, during the Rajkot fast. He was asked to send a report on the addressee who was suffering from tuberculosis; *vide* Vol. LXXII, p. 430.

56. CABLE TO CARL HEATH[1]

WARDHAGANJ,
October 4, 1940

IEATH
HOUSE
ROAD

EARNEST PLEADING FAILED. EVIDENTLY SUCH WAS WILL. ACTING WITH GREATEST CARE. SOME FORM IL RESISTANCE INEVITABLE FOR MERE EXISTENCE.

GANDHI

a photostat: G.N. 1044. Also Home, Political, File No. 3/33/40-Poll. tesy: National Archives of India

57. CABLE TO JAMES MAXTON[2]

October 4, 1940

NO CHANCE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. BRITISH 3 ON BATTLE-FIELD BUT BRITISH STATESMEN AVE ENOUGH TO TAKE RISKS IN DOING THE THING AT THE RIGHT MOMENT AND IN 'O COVER THEIR WEAKNESS RESORT TO FALSE UNSUPPORTED BY FACTS.

photostat: G.W. 10165 a. Also Home, Political, File No. 3/33/40– ourtesy: National Archives of India

'as in reply to a cable dated September 11, 1940, from the Quaker. Chairman of the India Conciliation Group, he had said: [*vide* Vol. LXXII, p. 414] received. Hold belief clash can y persistent human contact till acceptable formula found".
dressee was a British Labour leader and Member of Parliament.

58. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
October 4, 1940

CHI. ANAND,

Got Vidya's[1] letter only yesterday. Therefore neither the telegram nor the letter was of any use. You have always my blessings in whatever you do. Pyarelal wrote to you a few lines, so why do you feel hurt? I am busy over so many activities that I am unable to cope with them. So even if you get a few lines you should be glad. I am sorry to learn about your ears. Accept God's will. As for the book[2], do as you think proper. It is good that you have good relations with Father. Come whenever you want. Be happy. Serve according to [your] capacity.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

59. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[3]

SEVAGRAM,
October 5, 1940

In the correspondence between H.E. the Viceroy and myself announcing the breakdown in the talks, I have said in my letter[4] that I would make a public statement covering matters not referred to in my letter.

Before I do so, I think it is necessary for my purpose to say a few words regarding Lord Linlithgow. He is straight in his talk, always deliberate, and economical in his language. He is

[1] Addressee's wife

[2] The reference is to "Gandhi Series", edited and published by the addressee; *vide* "Letter to Anand T. Hingorani", 14-2-1941.

[3] This appeared under the title "More about Simla Visit".

[4] *Vide* pp. 71-3.

never equivocal, never leaves you in doubt as to his meaning. He conveys the most unpalatable decisions with a calmness and courtesy which, for the moment, make you think that you have heard no harsh or hard decision. He listens to your argument with a patience and attention I have never known any other Viceroy or high functionary to show in an equal measure. He is never ruffled and never discourteous. With all this, however, he is not to be easily moved from his position. He meets you with his decision on the matter under discussion already made. He takes care not to let you think that it is so, but there is no doubt about it that his decision is unchangeable. He is not receptive. He has amazing confidence in the correctness of his judgment. He does not believe in a gentleman's or any other agreement. I have always felt that after the Gandhi-Irwin pact, British satraps decided that there should be no more such pacts. Whatever they wanted to do, they should do independently. It shows either a high sense of justice or boundless self-assurance. I think it is the latter. He and I have become friends never to be parted, be the differences between us as great as they can be.

Holding such an opinion about the Viceroy, it pains me to have to relate what I must of my impression of the talks which have ended in a divergence which, in my opinion, was wholly avoidable. Acceptance of my proposal would have been no less beneficial to England than to India.

I went to Simla in the capacity of a representative and as a friend. As a friend I presented him with my doubts as to certain acts of the British Government. To have them dissolved was necessary to enable me to determine my mental attitude which to me is more than any visible act. I felt that the putting up by the Viceroy, and then the Secretary of State, of want of agreement by the Congress with the Princes, the Muslim League and even the Scheduled Classes as a barrier to the British recognition of India's right to freedom was more than unjust to the Congress and the Indian people. I told the Viceroy that these three represented class or communal interests, whereas the Congress represented no particular class. It was a purely national organization striving to represent India as a whole; and therefore the Congress had always maintained that it would abide by the verdict of a national assembly elected on the basis of the broadest franchise. It had further declared its intention to abide by the vote of the separate Muslim electorate, so far as special Muslim rights were concerned. Therefore it was wrong

to speak as if Muslim rights needed special safeguards as against the Congress. The same thing applied to the Sikhs.

The Princes of the present day were a creation of the British Government to subserve British interest. As against the plea that the British were bound by special treaty obligations, I contended that the Congress did not ask the British Government to disregard them. Only they could not be used to bar Indian progress, and it was wholly wrong to expect the Congress to produce an agreement with them. The Princes were not like other parties free to conclude any agreement with the Congress even if they wished. Moreover, the treaties, if they oblige the British Government to protect the Princes, equally compel them to protect the rights of the people. But it has been abundantly proved that the Birtish had rarely interfered with the Princes purely on behalf of the people. If they had been as careful of the people's right as they were bound by the treaties to be, the people's condition would not have been as miserable as it is today. Had they been true to the treaties of their own making, the people of States India should be more advanced than those of British India. I cited some telling illustrations of this neglect of duty.

The introduction of the Scheduled Classes in the controversy has made the unreality of the case of the British Government doubly unreal. They know that these are the special care of the Congress, and that the Congress is infinitely more capable of guarding their interests than the British Government. Moreover, the Scheduled Classes are divided into as many castes as the caste Hindu society. No single Scheduled Class member could possibly and truthfully represent the innumerable castes.

I had sought the interview with the Viceroy to see if my interpretation of the British argument had any flaw. I failed to get any satisfaction on the points raised. The Viceroy would not be drawn into a discussion. I can have no grievance about his disinclination to enter into any argument. He had every right to rely upon the fact that that was a matter of high policy not admitting of argument. There is a certain cold reserve about the British official world which gives them their strength and isolation from surroundings and facts. They do not want to be too frank. They politely refuse to enter into embarrassing argument. They leave you to draw what inferences you like while they continue to maintain their inflexible attitude. I suppose that is what is meant by the steel frame. For me, this side of British policy has been the least attractive. I had

hoped, against the warning of friends, that I might be able to break through this steel wall of reserve and get at the naked truth. But the imperialist Britisher is firmly fixed in his saddle.

Nevertheless, I will not accept defeat. I must strive to have the truth admitted by the British people that the bar to India's freedom lies not in the Congress or any other party's inability to produce an agreement which is in its nature impossible, but that it undoubtedly lies in the British disinclination to do the obviously right thing.

The unreality of the British reasons for refusal to treat India as a free country was not my only grouse. I drew the Viceroy's attention to certain irregularities in the prosecution of the war policy. There was agreement between us that there should be no compulsion as to war contributions. He has promised to examine all cases of hardship and all other difficulties. My purpose was to leave no ground for misunderstanding and to fight, if there was to be a fight, only on well-defined issues and without bitterness. I want to enter upon the fight with the hope that its very fairness will compel the recognition that India deserves better treatment, not merely from the British but from all the nations of the earth.

Lest it might be said that the Congress fights because it has failed to get power, I told His Excellency in the plainest words possible that the Congress had no desire to mount to power at the expense of a single national interest. It seeks no power save for the whole nation. Therefore he will have no opposition from the Congress if he forms a Cabinet composed of representatives of different parties. The Congress would be content to be in opposition so far as the war effort is concerned and so long as the machinery of Government has to subserve imperialist ends. The immediate issue is not independence. The immediate issue is the right of existence, i.e., the right of self-expression which, broadly put, means free speech. This the Congress wants not merely for itself, but for all, the only restraint being complete observance of non-violence. I hold that that condition answers all the difficulties by whomsoever raised.

Harijan, 13-10-1940

60. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 6, 1940

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I had your two letters[1]. You will tell me more about Rajni Patel when we meet. Your letter[2] about Napier[3], with enclosure, I am sending to the Viceroy. It is a pathetic case.

I am over head and ears in work. Hence no more.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1940. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

61. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 6, 1940

CHI. MIRA,

I have your two letters. I have made arrangements with the Harijan Colony. They will send you slivers when you need them. If you will give notice in time I shall see to their being sent. I hope what you have are quite good. Yes, I have been to Simla. It has been a good experience. I hope you will get the solitude you want.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABAI
PALAMPUR
KANGRA DISTRICT
PUNJAB

From the original: C.W. 6460. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10055

[1] One of these, dated September 21, was concerning the case of Rajni Patel, a barrister in Bombay, who had been arrested on his return after years of sojourn abroad.

[2] Dated October 2, 1940; *vide* Appendix IV.

[3] Great grandson of Sir Charles Napier

62. *LETTER TO SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 6, 1940

DEAR SAILENDRA,

Your letter. You should certainly earn more. Are you worth more? Can you leave Calcutta? I quite see that you must all have proper food. I shall discuss with Father[1] what can be done.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10164. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

63. *LETTER TO G. N. KANITKAR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 6, 1940

DEAR BALUKAKA,

I thank you for your good wishes. I have read the portions marked by you. It is difficult to speculate today what will happen if this country of ours was left undefended. I can only say that satyagrahis will have no fear. If they are worth their salt they will not be found bending the knee to any conqueror. But on this as on many matters we must agree to differ.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI BALUKAKA KANITKAR
HINDMATA SEVA MANDIR
POONA

From a photostat: C.W. 970. Courtesy: Gajanan N. Kanitkar

[1] Amrita Lal Chatterjee

64. LETTER TO DILKHUSH B. DIWANJI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 6, 1940

BHAI DILKHUSH,

I duly got your loving gift. You are progressing day by day. You have to progress a great deal more still. I got Harshadabehn's gift too. She has given an incomplete address. Please thank her yourself on my behalf.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DILKHUSH DIWANJI
GANDHI KUTIR
KARADI, *via* NAVSARI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2647

65. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

October 6, 1940

CHI. PREMA,

I have your letter and your book[1]. I read the dedication. I wore the dhoti[2] and I still wear it along with the others. I have kept the book with me. I do wish to go through it.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PREMABEHN KANTAK
ASHRAM, SASWAD
POONA DISTRICT

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10411. Also C.W. 6850. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] *Satyagrahi Maharashtra*, which the addressee had dedicated to Gandhiji

[2] Which the addressee had got made from yarn spun by her and sent to Gandhiji as a birthday present

66. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 6, 1940

CHI. SHARMA,

I got your letter. I want to call you to the battle. At least now improve your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh, p. 290

67. TWO THOUGHT-PROVOKING LETTERS[1]

A friend writes thus:

> When you asked for the names of out-and-out believers in non-violence I wanted very much to send in mine, but something within compelled me to refrain. First because I felt there was lack of ahimsa in my personal conduct, and secondly because there was the opposite of love for the English in my heart. I rejoice when I read in the papers of the destruction wrought on London and Britain, and I inwardly want the British to be defeated in the war. I am impelled to confess this, for I could not deceive you.

The second letter is from South Africa. I take a few sentences from it:

> I am puzzled as to what should be the attitude of Indians at the present juncture. The 'White' races are so utterly callous in regard to 'Coloured' people, and in spite of the war colour prejudice continues unabated. Why then should we give our lives for them? Quite recently an Indian student who returned here from Europe was telling us that in spite of the fact that the steamer was not crowded the British company hesitated to give accommodation to Indians. Such treatment leads us and also the African people to believe that there is no

[1] This appeared as "translated from Gujarati", originally published in *Harijanbandhu,* 12-10-1940.

difference between the Nazis, the Boers and the British, so far as we are concerned. If there were Nazi rule in South Africa, we could not be treated worse than we are today. Many of us think that the British are sweet-tongued but they pursue their own ruthless policy in spite of honeyed words, whereas Hitler would be more frank. He at any rate says exactly what he feels. Is there not truth in this? Anyhow we ought to know where we stand. Please tell us.

Though differently worded the two letters betray the same thought. It is difficult for those who suffer at British hands to shed either their dislike of or a disinclination to help them. But the present is a real testing time for ahimsa which alone can throw light on our path.

First of all we must distinguish between the British people and their policy. We must have full liberty thoughtfully and with reason to criticize the latter, but we may not dislike them. To err is human. All have their good as well as bad points. It is in human nature, even if we are in the wrong, to resent bitter, often unjust, criticism. But if we were lovingly shown our faults, we would perhaps be willing to listen. We must behave thus towards the British. Let us tell them where they are in the wrong, but let us not wish them any harm. We may demand a mental and heart change in their outlook, but we may not pray for their downfall.

Such an attitude is indispensable in satyagraha which demands that, while we may neither speak evil of wrongdoers nor wish them ill, we must at the same time show them the error of their ways and non-co-operate with them in their wrongdoing. The Congress has been trying to follow this great principle for the last twenty years. I believe that we have benefited greatly therefrom. Moreover there is no reason why we should wish the British to be defeated in this war. The writer from South Africa rightly says that there is not much to choose between the British and the Nazis. This is as clear as daylight in South Africa, in particular, where Coloured races are treated as definitely inferior in every way. What more than this could the Nazis say or do? The defeat of the British would connote the victory of the Nazis, which, again, we do not and must not desire. Therefore, we should be impartial. We are desirous of our own independence. For that there is no reason why we should want the destruction of Germany. We have to achieve as well as maintain our freedom through our own strength. We do not need British or any outside help for it.

Those of us who have full faith in ahimsa believe that we can win it through non-violence and keep it thereby also.

There is, however, a section amongst us who believe in winning and maintaining our independence through force of arms. Their position is a difficult one. As a matter of fact we have still to gain our freedom. If we win it through violence, we will not do so by helping Britain in the war. For if we help the war effort, we really come more under their sway than we are today. And if in spite of our help they lose, we would then come under the rule of another foreign power. So that, if Britain and India were jointly defeated, we would, so to speak, be jumping from the frying pan into the fire. Moreover India has no enmity towards any nation. Hitler and others have no illusions. They know full well that India is not a willing partner in the war, that we are a slave country and that our wishes do not count. It was really the Congress who raised this question because the Congress has adopted non-violence as its weapon. At the same time we have no quarrel with those who do not believe in non-violence. Each of us must go his own way. By doing so we shall know where India stands. If the Congress had not spoken out its mind, it would have committed suicide, that is to say, it would have given up its right to follow out its policy of non-violence. It is its duty to keep itself alive. Therefore the Congress has to take some action. What that action will be will shortly become known. I suggest to the two writers that they should try to rid their hearts of all anger and hatred. These are in reality signs of weakness. Non-violence is an active force. If they were to follow it, they would be active and they would be spreading the leaven of ahimsa. The Congress demand is not for itself only. It extends far beyond even India and embraces the world. Let us therefore wish well from the bottom of our hearts to all the warring nations.

SEVAGRAM, October 7, 1940

Harijan, 13-10-1940

68. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 7, 1940

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I enclose herewith Pandit Nehru's letter[1] and its enclosure. Though it relates to an individual British officer who has risen against the tradition, I think the case merits sympathetic treatment. The Pandit's letter I send in order that you may know the inner working of the mind of one who will be the future leader of all India. You will please tell me if I have overstepped the limit in sending you these papers.[2]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

69. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SEVAGRAM,
October 7, 1940

My criticism[3] was intended to support you and the Congress. I of course knew that you were doing something. I wrote to help you and strengthen your hands. It will also not have escaped your attention that such criticism can be made. The correspondent who wrote to me meant well. I felt that if I wrote openly, all of you would understand and take further steps accordingly. Do you see now? May I publish the correspondence with you?[4]

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 176

[1] *Vide* Appendix IV.

[2] In his reply dated October 11, the Viceroy, *inter alia*, remarked: "These are difficult cases, as the Pandit clearly recognized and I think, if I may say so, that the advice which he gave was eminently sensible and in the best interests of the officer concerned. I fully appreciate your own feelings."

[3] *Vide* pp. 63-5.

[4] *Vide* also "Notes," sub-title "Australian Soldiers". pp. 96-7.

70. *HYDERABAD*

What do you say to the right of Hyderabad to the territories that have been taken away by the English under some pretext or other, e.g., Berar, Ceded Districts, Karnataka, etc.?

This question demands an answer. So far as they have been taken away by the English the right accrues against the English. If I am asked as a matter of equity, I can only say that the people of the respective parts should be asked to make their choice. That is the only equity I know.

But I suggest that all such discussion is academic. If India, the geographical unit, gets independence, as it must some day, it means that every component part has its independence. If independence is won non-violently, all the component parts will be voluntarily interdependent, working in perfect harmony under a representative central authority which will derive its sanction from the confidence reposed in it by the component parts. If independence is taken by force of arms, then the strongest power will hold sway over all India. And this may be Hyderabad for aught I know. All the big and the petty States will be free willy-nilly from the British yoke. They will each fight for their existence and succumb to the strongest who will be the emperor of India. This presupposes unarmed millions lying prostrate at the feet of the combination of armed States. Many other things are, however, conceivable. The Indian part of the British army will probably have consciousness of strength and an independent existence. There may be Muslim arms, Sikh arms, Gurkha arms, Rajput arms and what not. They may fight among themselves or, having allied themselves to some nationalist party, may present a united front to the Princes. There may also be the descent upon India of the warring tribes from the Frontier to share the spoils or the sovereignty itself.

The Congress, if it still has anything of its non-violence left in it, will die in the attempt to establish universal peace in India. It is not impossible that all the warring elements will find it profitable in more ways than one voluntarily to surrender themselves to the moral authority of a central power. This means universal suffrage exercised by a disciplined and politically

intelligent electorate. It also means a decent and permanent burial to communal and other discord.

But this may not happen. The existing state of things does not warrant an optimistic outlook. But I am a man of faith. And to faith all things are possible. But supposing the worst happens and there is anarchy in the land, if there is God upon earth as He is in heaven, then you may depend upon it that, I shall not live to make any choice. I shall die in the anarchic flame whilst I am vainly attempting to still it with my tiny, shaky hands. But if you ask me in advance whether I would face anarchy in preference to foreign orderly rule, either British or any other, I would unhesitatingly plump for anarchy, say, the rule of the Nizam supported by Chiefs become feudatory to him or supported by the border Muslim tribes. In my estimation it will be cent per cent domestic. It will be home rule though far, far from self-rule or *swa*-raj (स्व-राज). But you must let me repeat that, while I can write thus academically, if the reality faces me, my choice will be death or the rule of the people by the people for the people. This means the rule of unadulterated non-violence. So you see my non-violence is made not of cotton wool but of a metal much harder than steel and yet softer than cotton wool. You can compare it only with itself.

You will naturally then ask what place have the Princes in my scheme of things. Such a question should not arise if you had fully realized the implications of non-violence. For the Princes obeying the moral authority of a central body not sustained by arms will find an honourable place as servants of the people. No one will have any rights but what are inherent in a willing performance of one's duties. Thus H. E. H. the Nizam will then be the chosen servant of people. Only then his people will not be merely those confined willy-nilly within his present borders but may be all India. You must not dismiss this as a utopian scheme. I claim to be a practical man. If the Congress proves true to its policy, what may seem today to be an airy nothing may tomorrow become an agreeable reality. In my scheme there is no waste of either human talent or creative effort. Let me quote here my cable to H. G. Wells in reply to his on the rights of man:

> Received your cable. Have carefully read your five articles. You will permit me to say, you are on the wrong track. I feel sure that I can draw up a better charter of rights than you have drawn up. But what good will it be? Who will become its guardian? If you mean

propaganda or popular education, you have begun at the wrong end. I suggest the right way. Begin with a charter of duties of man, and I promise the rights will follow as spring follows winter. I write from experience. As a young man I began life by seeking to assert my rights, and I soon discovered I had none—not even over my wife. So I began by discovering and performing my duty by my wife, my children, friends, companions and society, and I find today that I have greater rights, perhaps, than any living man I know. If this is too tall a claim, then I say I do not know anyone who possesses greater rights than I.

SEVAGRAM, October 8, 1940

Harijan, 13-10-1940

71. THANKS[1]

I am grateful to the numerous senders of birthday greetings from India as well as remote parts of the earth. Many have this time also sent me strands of yarn some of which is of great fineness, strength and evenness. Needless to say I shall make the wisest use of all these (to me) precious gifts for they betoken a labour of love for *Daridranarayana*. Some have sent monetary gifts either for Harijans or for the A.I.S.A. All these have been sent to the proper quarters.

SEVAGRAM, October 8, 1940

Harijan, 13-10-1940

72. FASTING IN SATYAGRAHA[2]

I note that in connection with the imminent satyagraha the possibility of my fasting has been hinted at in the papers. Pandit Malaviyaji has a soft corner for me. He is always deeply concerned about my health, my politics, and my morals. We have differences of opinion, but our love cheerfully stands the strain. The day before I left Sevagram for Simla I received a letter from him, urging me to avoid at all cost the reported fast.[3]

[1] This appeared under "Notes".

[2] This appeared as "translated from Hindustani", originally published in *Harijan Sevak*, 12-10-1940.

[3] For Gandhiji's reply to M. M. Malaviya, *vide* p. 59.

I have to admit that there is a certain measure of truth in the report. I have told my friends of the Working Committee of my premonition that I may have to undertake one more fast during my life, and that this may even take place sooner than I had thought. But the fact is that so far as I can remember I have never undertaken a single one of my public fasts with any premeditation on my part. All my fasts have come to me on the spur of the moment, gifts from God as I have called them. Their results have been invariably good. And in any event I have no regrets regarding them. I hope, therefore, that readers will entertain no anxiety on reading these lines. If God has a fast in store for me, it will surely come and it will bring good in its wake. In all things His will be done.

Now what is the place of fasting in satyagraha? Nowadays quite a number of fasts are undertaken in the name of satyagraha. Many of the known fasts have been meaningless, many may be said to have been impure. Fasting is a fiery weapon. It has its own science. No one, as far as I am aware, has a perfect knowledge of it. Unscientific experimentation with it is bound to be harmful to the one who fasts, and it may even harm the cause espoused.[1] No one who has not earned the right to do so should, therefore, use this weapon. A fast may only be undertaken by him who is associated with the person against whom he fasts. The latter must be directly connected with the purpose for which the fast is being undertaken. Bhagat Fulsinghji's recent fast was such a one. He was closely connected with the people of Moth village; he had served the Harijans of the place, too. The wrong that was being enacted was done by the villagers to the Harijans. When every means of obtaining justice had failed, there was no option left for a man like Fulsinghji except to resort to fasting. He did and succeeded.[2] Success or failure depends entirely on the will of God and is not relevant to the issue under discussion.

All my public fasts have been of this category. Out of all of them perhaps there is most to be learnt from the Rajkot one.[3] It has been roundly condemned by many people. Originally it was pure and necessary. The blemish crept in when I asked the Viceroy to intervene. Had I not done so, I am convinced that its result would have been brilliant. Even as it was, the result was a victory for the cause. Because God

[1] The Hindi version has: " . . . and it may harm even other people."

[2] *Vide* also "Telegram to G. D. Birla", p. 38.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXIX.

wanted to open my eyes, he took the bread out of my mouth, so to speak. The Rajkot fast is thus a useful study for the satyagrahi. In regard to its necessity there is no doubt, assuming that the principles for fasting which I have laid down are accepted. The important thing to note about it is how a pure undertaking can become tainted owing to lack of watchfulness on the part of the doer. There can be no room for selfishness, anger, lack of faith, or impatience in a pure fast. It is no exaggeration to admit that all these defects crept into my Rajkot fast. My selfishness lay in the fact that, inasmuch as its being given up depended on certain conditions being fulfilled by the late Thakore Saheb, I had in me the selfish desire for the realization of the fruits of my labour. If there had been no anger in me, I would not have looked to the Viceroy for assistance. My love should have deterred me from doing so. For if he was really as a son to me, why should I have complained about him to his overlord? I betrayed want of faith in that I thought the Thakore Saheb would not be melted by my love and I was impatient to break the fast. All these shortcomings were bound to make my fast impure. It would be irrelevant here to ponder over the many results of the Rajkot fast, and I therefore refrain from doing so. But we have learnt how infinietly watchful and prayerful he who fasts has to be and how even a little carelessness can damage a good cause. It is now apparent that in addition to truth and non-violence a satyagrahi should have the confidence that, God will grant him the necessary strength and that, if there is the slightest impurity in the fast, he will not hesitate to renounce it at once. Infinite patience, firm resolve, single-mindedness of purpose, perfect calm, and no anger must of necessity be there. But since it is impossible for a person to develop all these qualities all at once, no one who has not devoted himself to following the laws of ahimsa[1] should undertake a satyagrahi fast.

I should like readers to note that I have not here dealt with fasts undertaken for bodily or spiritual purification. Nature-cure doctors should be consulted for the former. The greatest of sinners can undertake the latter. And for this type of fast we possess a veritable mine of literature. Fasts for spiritual purification have really been forgotten in our day. If they are ever undertaken, they are either purely imitative or merely for

[1] The Hindi version has: " . . . no one who has not purified himself by observing *yama-niyamas* . . . ."

the sake of tradition, and we cannot, therefore, derive the benefit from them that we should. Those who want to go in for a satyagrahi fast should certainly possess some personal experience of fasts for spiritual purification. Fasts for ridding the body of impurities are also beneficial. In the end, of course, there is only one basis of the whole ideal of fasting, and that is purification.

SEVAGRAM, October 8, 1940

Harijan, 13-10-1940

73. PLAIN LIVING AND HIGH THINKING[1]

> An ideal society is that in which every individual will be able to live a life of progressively increasing wants with a minimum output of labour.

Thus writes a friend from Ahmedabad. The proposition is pleasing and is backed by plausible argument which many may accept. The writer forecast that the Viceroy was bound to refuse the Congress proposal.[2] He does not believe in the freedom of the individual, and is therefore of opinion that it was only meet that the Viceroy should turn down the proposal. Because his forecast turned out correct he may even hold his argument to be sound and say, "I told you so." It is therefore necessary for me to take note of the letter.

The writer may not derive any satisfaction from the Viceroy's refusal.[3] All my colleagues had foretold the result. But I wanted to go not so much in the expectation of getting acceptance as, in the event of failure, to return with added strength. Nor does the rejection of the proposal mean in any sense that the Viceroy does not believe in individual freedom. Britain has not gone that length. Europe has no doubt entered upon a new phase in denying individual liberty. If this goes, then surely all is lost, for, if the individual ceases to count, what is left of society? Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of society. If it is wrested from him, he becomes an automaton and society is

[1] This appeared as "translated from Gujarati", originally published in *Harijanbandhu*, 12-10-1940.

[2] The Gujarati version has: ". . . my proposal."

[3] The Gujarati version adds: "It is never assumed that such demands will be acceded to."

ruined. No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man. Just as a man will not grow horns or a tail, so he will not become an animal with no mind of his own. In reality even those who do not believe in the liberty of the individual believe in their own. Modern editions of Chenghiz Khan retain their own.

Just as the writer's ideas on individual liberty are impossible, so also is his other theory. That everyone in this world should be able to maintain as high a standard of life as possible with the least possible output of labour is just as fantastic as to expect a camel to pass through the eye of a needle. The writer's high living would appear to mean luxurious living which is an impossible proposition for any society as a whole. And when there is no limit to luxury where shall we stop? All the scriptures of the world have taught the exact opposite. Plain living and high thinking is the ideal that has been placed before us. The vast majority recognize its truth but are unable to get there because of human frailty. It is, however, perfectly possible to envisage such an existence. That the crores in India should be guaranteed a certain income is only right, and to achieve this ideal large-scale machinery is not only not necessary but wholly destructive.[1]

Man falls from the pursuit of the ideal of plain living and high thinking the moment he wants to multiply his daily wants. History gives ample proof of this. Man's happiness really lies in contentment. He who is discontented, however much he possesses, becomes a slave to his desires. And there is really no slavery equal to that of his desires. All the sages have declared from the house-tops that man can be his own worst enemy as well as his best friend. To be free or to be a slave lies in his own hands. And what is true for the individual is true for society.[2]

SEVAGRAM, October 9[3], 1940

Harijan, 1-2-1942

[1] The Gujarati version does not have the last three words.

[2] The Gujarati version adds: "And that emancipation can be achieved only by living a pure and simple life."

[3] From *Harijanbandhu*. The source, however, has "7".

74. NOTES

'A Stab in the Back'?

I have read Sir Sikandar Hyat's reported speech[1] on the correspondence between H.E. the Viceroy and myself. I was sorry for it. Where is the stab in the back when everything is done openly after full discussion and with the utmost consideration for the party affected? He is a bad advocate who overproves his case, and I promise that Sir Sikandar will be proved as such. Sir Sikandar says that ninety-nine per cent of the Punjab is for participation in the war. No doubt he is a popularly elected member of the Punjab Assembly, and he is the undisputed Premier of the Punjab. Nevertheless it is a big claim that he puts forth for the Punjab. Sir Sikandar's cause will lose nothing by being true to facts. And the facts are that the Punjab has been one of the best recruiting grounds for the British rulers. This does not necessarily prove that the Punjab is the most patriotic of the provinces. In this vast country of ours there are many professions. Soldiering is one of them. These professionals will lend their services to whomsoever will pay them good wages and enough practice for their profession. Therefore, in my opinion, Sir Sikandar can prove no more than that the Punjab has the pride of place so far as the recruiting ground for the British is concerned. But the Punjabi soldier is as much interested in the issue as the black soldiers trained by General Franco were interested in his politics or in

[1] According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1940*, Vol. II, pp. 31-2 and 40, Sikandar Hyat Khan, "addressing a gathering of ryots at Nuh (Gurgaon District) on October 1, said that Mahatma Gandhi was among the first Indians to denounce Hitler's acts of aggression and to declare that his sympathy lay entirely on the side of Britain in this war. Since that declaration was made the Congress had been changing its position from time to time until at last Mahatma had formulated his demand for freedom to carry on propaganda against participation in the war." Addressing another meeting at Lahore on November 1, in connection with the "Muslim Countries Day", Sikandar, "took the opportunity to elaborate his charges against Mahatma Gandhi". He said: "Mahatma's campaign amounted not only to stabbing Britain in the back but also a betrayal of the best interests of India and the Islamic world."

his ambition. They served him because of the pay and the practice in the use of arms which he offered them. But politically speaking, if Sir Sikandar can claim that ninety-nine per cent of the Punjab is for participation in the war, it can be claimed with much greater force perhaps that ninety-nine per cent of the seven provinces where the Congress has an overwhelming majority are against such participation. Only I do not want to advance any such argument. I suggest that those who want and those who do not want to participate in the war may follow their respective courses without being acclaimed as patriots. It may well be left to the historian of the future to pronounce judgment.

Australian Soldiers

The Mayor of Bombay has sent me a letter complaining of my reference[1] to him as if he had neglected his duty as the first citizen of Bombay. He tells me too that he acted in the promptest manner possible and entered into correspondence with the Government. As a responsible citizen he could not rush to the Press or inform the public what he was doing. All this is creditable to the Mayor. I know him to be business-like and anxious to render service without fuss. But it is strange that he has read a meaning into my writing which the context shows I could not have meant. I have put to him the same question that I have put to all the other parties concerned. Surely I must not be taken to have cast any reflection on any single one of them. For aught I know they might have taken effective steps without my warning. When a series of complaints came to me from various sources, I was found to draw attention to them and show how, from a private citizen to the Governor, the various units in a society would be expected to act in emergencies of the character described by me. The latter might, if not handled effectively and in time, give rise to a first-class crisis ending in an exhibition of racial passions of a most undesirable type.

I am happy, therefore, to note that almost all parties seem to have acted as they should have. A college girl, who was among the first to complain to me, tells me that, whilst there is no doubt about the general truth of the complaints, the improper behaviour stopped after a few days. She tells me that

[1] *Vide* p. 65; also "Letter to Mathuradas Trikumji", p. 87.

it had stopped altogether before my writing appeared in the Press. Whilst, therefore, I am not sorry for what I wrote, as I should have in the public interest, it gives me as much pleasure to note that the mischief was nipped in the bud, as it had caused me pain to give publicity to it. I am no believer in a hush-hush policy. Such incidents, if they are not to be repeated, demand publicity and an effective and immediate remedy.[1]

JAIPUR

Seth Jamnalalji is trying to cut his way through a thick forest of difficulties in Jaipur. He had thought that after a settlement, to which he had contributed not a little and which had brought much credit to the State and freedom from embarrassment, he would have fair weather and smooth sailing. But such was not to be the case. In Raja Gyan Nath he has to face a Prime Minister who, according to Sethji, is thoroughly unreliable and reactionary. He has failed to give any satisfaction to the long-suffering ryots of Jaipur. He has put back the hands of the clock of progress, and there is an agitation for his removal and the appointment of a Minister who would be responsive to public opinion. It is the duty of the Paramount Power to see to it that when it imposes a Minister on a Prince, it gives one who would be sympathetic to public demands. It is time to remove him when he is more autocratic than the Prince in whose name he is supposed to administer the State.

SEVAGRAM, October 9, 1940

Harijan, 13-10-1940

75. LETTER TO ABDULLA HAROON RASHEED

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 12, 1940

DEAR HAJI SAHEB,

Though it is only an official letter[2], your signature revives memories of the old happy days when I used to enjoy your

[1] *Vide* also "Two Points of View", pp. 108-9.

[2] *The Hitavada*, 23-10-1940, reported that the addressee, President of Sind Muslim League, had forwarded to Gandhiji "the Sind Provincial Muslim League resolution on lawlessness in the province". According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1940*, Vol. II, p. 34, the resolution "expressed the hope that the Hindu organizations in Sind would co-operate with the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League in easing the communal situation".

confidence in full measure. But as the saying goes all days are never the same. I must be content with what God gives me from time to time.

You will not expect me to enter into a discussion with you on your resolution. I did not write the note[1] in *Harijan* to provoke controversy. If you are satisfied that so far as the Muslims are concerned they have nothing to answer for, I have nothing to say. I wrote as a friend, not as an opponent. Hence you will excuse me for not printing the resolution. If I do, I must answer it. This I want to avoid. But you can expect me to help in the production of a friendly atmosphere in Sind through personal correspondence. I, therefore, like the last paragraph of your first resolution—that inviting the co-operation of Hindus.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

76. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 12, 1940

BHAI SATIS BABU[2],

Annada's[3] letter is enclosed. When he writes that whatever happened that day was due to panic, we should reopen the case so far as necessary. What shall I do about the auditors? First send reply to all the issues raised by Annada. How are the prices of khadi brought down? How and how much capital is invested in khadi work?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2732

[1] *Vide* pp. 60-1.
[2] Founder-President of Bengal Khadi Pratishthan
[3] Annada Chowdhury, a constructive worker from Bengal

77. LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1940

BHAI SAMPURNANANDJI,

I have in view only Hindi or Hindustani. But that does not imply boycott of Urdu. The root of all the three languages is the same and when we establish unity among us we would laugh at our own stupidity, and wonder why we ever quarrelled over the language problem. You should read the article[1] in the *Harijan Sevak* from this point of view.

I praised Pyarelal's Urdu for the simple reason that I have no other person who knows Urdu, and a knowledge of Urdu is essential for evolving the Hindustani language. I have made a distinction between Pyarelal's Urdu and Hindi merely in order to explain the situation. I never thought of the interpretation you have given to it. We who belong to the Congress can use no other name but Hindustani. For the Congress Hindustani is the national language. In fact there is no language called Hindustani which is different from Hindi and Urdu. That language has still to evolve itself. People will understand the meaning when we use Urdu words as well as Hindi words. But which language is to be known as Hindustani? Has it not to be a fusion of Hindi and Urdu? My endeavour is to create such a fusion. Let it be your endeavour too.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXII, pp. 450-1.

78. TESTIMONIAL TO UMA DEVI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 13, 1940

I have known Shri Uma Devi (Wanda Dynowska) of Poland for over four years. She has adopted India as her second home. She is simple in habits, extremely self-sacrificing and brave. I believe her also to be thoroughly honest.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1203 and 8057. Also C.W. 5098. Courtesy: Wanda Dynowska

79. LETTER TO CHANDEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 13, 1940

CHI. CHANDEL,

I have your beautiful letter. You are doing good work there.[1] I am looking forward to seeing you both[2] if you will come here after Dewali.

Blessings from
BAPU

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p. 189

[1] The addressee was in charge of the spinning centre in Khedi.
[2] The addressee and Kamala (Margaret Jones), who were doing village uplift work in Khedi

80. LETTER TO V. N. BARWE[1]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 13, 1940

DEAR BARWE,

I do not want to deal publicly with your question. As a matter of ethics, however, I do maintain that to do Red Cross work is an indirect encouragement to war effort. But I know that is a very delicate question and admits of two conflicting opinions.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

81. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 14, 1940

CHI. MIRA,

I am glad you are in your new abode[2]. There is a ring of sadness about the few lines you have sent me. I want you to feel inner joy and strength. God be with you.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Your khadi has now come. If you gave me instructions about it, I have forgotten. Shall I keep it for you?

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6461. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10056

[1] This was in reply to a letter dated October 11 from the addressee, who wanted to know if Congressmen could contribute to Red Cross funds, and whether such contribution could be said to be an indirect help to the war.

[2] Mirabehn explains: "A solitary little hut in a pinewood on the mountain side"; *vide* also p. 40.

82. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 14, 1940

CHI. SHARMA,

Retain them[1] as long as they allow you. It is not necessary to return them immediately.

It will be good to send Devi Prasad[2]. But ask the school first.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, between pp. 290 and 291

83. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

I have had three days' discussion[3] with the Working Committee. During it I unfolded my plan of civil disobedience in so far as I was able to envisage it. Although I have sole charge of the campaign, I could not think of taking the first step without consultation with the members of the Working Committee. In non-violent action one has to carry the co-workers with one through the mind and the heart. There is no other way to enforce discipline or obedience to instructions. I must admit that it was not plain sailing for me. There was stubborn dissent from two members. I tried hard to carry conviction to them but I fear I failed. They will, however, yield obedience so far as it is possible for them for the sake of discipline. The difference of opinion solely centred round the quantity of civil disobedience and the restrictions with which it was hedged.

I disclose this part of the discussion to show that my plan will fall short of the expectations of those whom the dissenters represent. I would simply say to them, 'Wait patiently and

[1] Tents borrowed for the addressee's camp hospital

[2] Addressee's son; the question had been raised whether he should be sent to school.

[3] From October 11 to 13

see what happens. Carry out instructions to the best of your ability. Do nothing to thwart the plan. If your reason rebels against it, you will serve the cause by seceding and educating the people along your own lines. That would be straight, brave and stimulating, in that the people will learn to appraise the value of different methods. You will cause confusion by preaching from the Congress platform anything contrary to the official programme, especially when the whole organization becomes like an army. It matters little whether one person offers civil disobedience or many. The rest have to render such support as they may be called upon to do.'

The plan is simply this. Direct action will be commenced by Shri Vinoba Bhave and for the time being confined to him only. And since it is to be confined to individual civil disobedience and that too of him only, it will be so conducted by him as to exclude others directly or indirectly. But since it is concerned with freedom of speech, the public will be involved to an extent. It is open to them either to listen to him or not.

But much will depend upon what the Government wish to do. In spite of all attempt to confine civil disobedience to individuals and for the moment to one only, they can precipitate a crisis by making it a crime to listen to him or read anything written by him. But I think and believe that they do not want to invite any trouble, though they hold themselves in readiness to cope with every trouble that may face them.

I have discussed with Shri Vinoba various plans so as to avoid all unnecessary friction or risks. The idea is to make all action as strictly non-violent as is humanly possible. One man's violence, veiled or open, cannot go beyond a certain limit, but within that limit it would be effective. One man's non-violent action would be despised and ridiculed by the non-believer in it. In truth, while the effect of a given violent action can be reduced to mathematical terms, that of non-violent action defies all calculation and has been known to falsify many that have been hazarded. How far I shall be able to present an example of unadulterated non-violence remains to be seen.

Who is Vinoba Bhave and why has he been selected? He is an undergraduate having left college after my return to India in 1915[1]. He is a Sanskrit scholar. He joined the Ashram[2] almost at its inception. He was among the first members. In order to better qualify himself he took one year's leave to

[1] The source, however, has "1916".

[2] On June 7, 1916

prosecute further studies in Sanskrit. And, practically at the same hour at which he had left the Ashram a year before, he walked into it without notice. I had forgotten that he was due to arrive that day. He has taken part in every menial activity of the Ashram from scavenging to cooking. Though he has a marvellous memory and is a student by nature, he has devoted the largest part of his time to spinning in which he has specialized as very few have. He believes in universal spinning being the central activity which will remove the poverty in the villages and put life into their deadness. Being a born teacher he has been of the utmost assistance to Ashadevi[1] in her development of the scheme of education through handicrafts. Shri Vinoba has produced a text-book taking spinning as the handicraft. It is original in conception. He has made scoffers realize that spinning is the handicraft *par excellence* which lends itself to being effectively used for basic education. He has revolutionized *takli*-spinning and drawn out its hitherto unknown possibilities. For perfect spinning probably he has no rival in all India.

He has abolished every trace of untouchability from his heart. He believes in communal unity with the same passion that I have. In order to know the best mind of Islam he gave one year to the study of the Koran in the original. He therefore learnt Arabic. He found this study necessary for cultivating a living contact with the Muslims living in his neighbourhood.

He has an army of disciples and workers who would rise to any sacrifice at his bidding. He is responsible for producing a young man[2] who has dedicated himself to the service of lepers. Though an utter stranger to medicine this worker has by singular devotion mastered the method of treatment of lepers and is now running several clinics for their care. Hundreds owe their cure to his labours. He has now published a handbook in Marathi for the treatment of lepers. Vinoba was for years Director of the Mahila Ashram in Wardha. His devotion to the cause of *Daridranarayana* took him first to a village near Wardha, and now he has gone still further and lives in Paunar, five miles from Wardha, from where he has established contact with villages through the disciples he has trained.

He believes in the necessity of the political independence of India. He is an accurate student of history. But he believes that real independence of the villagers is impossible without the constructive programme of which khadi is the centre. He believes

[1] Ashadevi Aryanayakam

[2] Manohar Divan

that the charkha is the most suitable outward symbol of non-violence which has become an integral part of his life. He has taken an active part in the previous satyagraha campaigns. He has never been in the limelight on the political platform. With many co-workers he believes that silent constructive work with civil disobedience in the background is far more effective than the already heavily crowded political platform. And he thoroughly believes that non-violent resistance is impossible without a heart-belief in and practice of constructive work.

Vinoba is an out-and-out war resister. But he respects equally with his own the conscience of those who, whilst not being out-and-out war resisters, have yet strong conscientious objection to participation in the present war. Though Vinoba represents both the types, I may want to select another who will represent only one type, namely, conscientious objection to participation in the present war.

It was necessary to introduce Vinoba at length to the public in order to justify my choice. This will perhaps be the last civil disobedience struggle which I shall have conducted. Naturally I would want it to be as flawless as it can be. Moreover the Congress has declared that it will avoid all avoidable embarrassment to the Government consistently with its own existence. For that reason too I had to strive to produce the highest quality irrespective of quantity.

But Vinoba must fail, as I must, if we do not represent the Congress, let alone the whole nation. And we shall certainly not represent either if they do not give us full-hearted co-operation which is ceaseless prosecution of the constructive programme. It is not vocal co-operation that is required. It is co-operation in work that is needed. The signs of such co-operation will be phenomenal progress in spinning, complete disappearance of untouchability, an increasing friendliness between communities, and an increasing sense of justice in every walk of life. Unless rock-bottom justice and equality pervade society, surely there is no non-violent atmosphere. Above all there should be no civil disobedience but what is sanctioned by me. This is peremptory obligation binding on every Congressman. If it is disregarded, there is no co-operation. The representative character belonging to Vinoba and me is then challenged. And I can say with confidence that, if the full-hearted co-operation I want is forthcoming, not only will the issue of freedom of speech be decided in our favour but we shall have gone very near independence. Let those who will, take me at my word. They will have lost

nothing and will find that they had contributed greatly to the movement of freedom through truthful and non-violent means.

Let me repeat the issue. On the surface it is incredibly narrow—the right to preach against war as war or participation in the present war. Both are matters of conscience for those who hold either view. Both are substantial rights. Their exercise can do no harm to the British if their pretension that to all intents and purposes India is an independent country is at all true. If India is very much a dependency in fact as it is in law, whatever the British get from India can never be regarded as voluntary, it must be regarded as impressed. This battle of life and death cannot be won by impressed levies, however large. They may win if they have the moral backing of an India truly regarded as free. Non-violent Congress cannot wish ill to Britain. Nor can it help her through arms since it seeks to gain her own freedom not through arms but through unadulterated non-violence. And the Congress vanishes if, at the crucial moment, it suppresses itself for fear of consequences or otherwise by ceasing to preach non-violence through non-violent means. So when we probe the issue deep enough we discover that it is a matter of life and death for us. If we vindicate that right, all is well with us. If we do not, all is lost. We cannot then win swaraj through non-violent means.

I know that India has not one mind. There is a part of India that is war-minded and will learn the art of war through helping the British. The Congress has no desire, therefore, to surround ammunition factories or barracks and prevent people from doing what they like. We want to tell the people of India that, if they will win swaraj through non-violent means, they may not co-operate militarily with Britain in the prosecution of the war.

This right of preaching against participation in the war is being denied to us, and we have to fight against the denial. Therefore, while that right will be exercised only by those whom I may select for the purpose, all the other activities of the Congress will continue as before unless the Government interfere with them.

A question has been asked why, if I attach so much importance to quality, I do not offer civil resistance myself. I have already said that unlike as on previous occasions I do not wish to do so for the very good reason that my imprisonment is likely to cause greater embarrassment to the authorities than anything else the Congress can do. I want also to remain outside to cope with any contingency that may arise. My going to

jail may be interpreted as a general invitation to all Congressmen to follow suit. They will not easily distinguish between my act and speech. Lastly, I do not know how things will shape. I myself do not know the next step. I do not know the Government plan. I am a man of faith. My reliance is solely on God. One step is enough for me. The next He will make clear to me when the time for it comes. And who knows that I shall not be an instrument for bringing about peace not only between Britain and India but also between the warring nations of the earth. This last wish will not be taken for vanity by those who believe that my faith is not a sham but a reality greater than the fact that I am penning these lines.

SEVAGRAM, October 15, 1940

Harijan, 20-10-1940

84. A BRITISH ENDORSEMENT

Mr. Stephen J. Thorne, Secretary to the Society of Friends, sends me the following letter:

> We, a group of friends, want to send you our deep gratitude for your impressive appeal[1] to every Briton to adopt the way of non-violence and bring about a cessation of hostilities. We drew together immediately on receiving the short version of your statement, and were later able to obtain a fuller text.
>
> You have received through the Viceroy the response of the British Government to your proffer of help, a response that from your knowledge of the situation you will easily understand. To most Britons the call to throw down their arms in a moment of supreme national peril and in face of imminent aggression is indistinguishable from cowardice and treason[2]; it is an invitation to save their lives by the surrender of principles of liberty and justice that are dearer than life itself. But to those of us who in the peace movement share your faith in non-violence, you present a tremendous challenge. Few of us are fully prepared to stand up to it; and we are conscious of our own failure to convince our fellow-countrymen of the value and practicability of this "more excellent way". The technique of non-violent resistance as you have practised it is little understood in the West, especially in its positive and reconciling sense; and for that reason apart from any other, your appeal has not yet met with any wide response.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXII, pp. 229-31.

[2] The source has "reason", evidently a misprint.

Though the British Government's reply must have been disappointing, we are anxious to make full use of your offered help. Your appeal gave expression to a spirit that is moving, we are certain, in the hearts of men all over the world. We believe that it would be a step forward if you were willing to address a further message to certain of the spiritual leaders of the world, urging them to act together in taking hold of the situation before the winter brings fresh disaster.

We hope you will maintain the closest contact with us, sending direct the full text of anything you may say in the days ahead.

Your friends sincerely,

HORACE G. ALEXANDER	PERCY W. BARTLETT
ANNA BIDDER	W. MAUDE BRAYSHAW
ROBERT DAVIS	A. RUTH FRY
CARL HEATH	ELIZABETH FOX HOWARD
JAMES H. HUDSON	FRANCIS E. POLLARD
J. CUTHBERT WIGHAM	ALEXANDER C. WILSON

PS.

The Council of Christian Pacifist Groups associates itself with this letter, and looks forward to an early opportunity of discussing the deep issues involved.

I am thankful to the signatories for their support of my appeal. I can assure them that immediately I see the psychological moment, I shall act up to the signatories' expectation that I should address the spiritual leaders of the world. It is quite evident that the very thoroughness of the Nazi method makes them think that nothing but counter-violence can check the terror. I have suggested that counter-violence can only result in further brutalization of human nature. Drastic diseases require drastic remedies. In this instance nothing but non-violence can cure Nazi violence.

SEVAGRAM, October 16, 1940

Harijan, 20-10-1940

85. TWO POINTS OF VIEW

The publication of the correspondence between the Mayor of Bombay and H. E. the Governor, on the behaviour of the troops from Australia and New Zealand is proof of the fact that the Mayor lost no time in writing to H. E. the Governor, nor did the latter in responding to the Mayor's warning.[1] It is also a

[1] *Vide* also pp. 63-5, 87 and 96-7.

striking illustration of the same thing appearing contrariwise when looked at from different angles of vision. The English mind excuses in soldiers many things which would be inexcusable in an ordinary citizen. In India the soldier is regarded as a nuisance to be tolerated. His pranks are hardly appreciated. It is, therefore, a matter of pity that the paragraph defending the behaviour complained of should have found place in a letter which is otherwise admirable as showing prompt attention to the Mayor's studiously courteous and temperate letter. The sheaf of correspondence received by me does not show that my correspondents took the behaviour lightly. The girls who came in for the attention of the troops were too pure not to resent the molestation which fell to their lot. I have never been able to understand why the art of killing should receive indulgence which men going through harder trails than soldiers never claim nor receive.

SEVAGRAM, October 16, 1940

Harijan, 20-10-1940

86. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

October 16, 1940

In answer to the question, how the present movement would differ from the Salt Satyagraha[1] and, particularly, whether his anxiety not to embarrass the British Government would be the major or even the governing factor in his calculations, Gandhiji replied:

It will be the prime factor in every one of my calculations.

Gandhiji was next asked if he had at the back of his mind the sense of contrast between India and the Dominions, where General Hertzog[2] and Mr. De Valera[3] could preach neutrality or opposition to participation in war but were still free, Gandhiji said:

Of course the contrast is painful, so much so that every time British declarations are tested, they prove valueless.

In reply to a question whether there was any significance in the fact that he had waited until after the Viceroy had rejected the Poona offer and whether he was leading both types of Congressmen, those who agreed with Gandhiji that all wars were violations of the principle of non-violence, and

[1] Of March 12, 1930; *vide* Vol. XLIII.

[2] James B. M. Hertzog, Prime Minister of South Africa, 1924–1939

[3] Eamon De Valera, Prime Minister of Ireland, who later became the President

those who thought that the rejection of the idea of a National Government compelled them to oppose participation in this war, Gandhiji observed:

There is no significance in it so far as I am concerned, but I am representing both types.

While civil disobedience will proceed on the lines laid down by him, Gandhiji said that the rank and file of Congressmen would concentrate on the constructive programme and absolutely no relaxation in this work was contemplated by him. Referring to his premonition about another fast, Gandhiji said:

Under what circumstances and on what occasion I shall resort to it I do not know. In saying this, I have no mental reservations. I want to avoid fast.[1]

Regarding the charge of inconsistency between his attitude at the commencement of the war and now, he stated that he had already made[2] this point clear. He said:

It is a different position which faces me now and it would be illogical to ask that the Congress must perform *hara-kiri*.

Freedom would be used to give moral support to Britain, India would want Britain to succeed—a Britain which has played the game by India.

Never, he emphasized, would there be the slightest interference with those who want to give Britain active support.

The Hindu, 17-10-1940

87. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

October 17, 1940

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY
VICEROY'S CAMP

I OBSERVE THAT CENSORS HAVE BEGUN TO REMOVE FROM MY PRESS STATEMENTS SENTENCES WHICH THEY CONSIDER OBJECTIONABLE. I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THIS IS PART OF POLICY LAID DOWN FROM CENTRE OR MERE LOCAL ACTION. I CANNOT ISSUE ANYTHING WHICH MIGHT BE MUTILATED WITHOUT MY CONSENT. DANGER IS OBVIOUS. REMOVAL OF

[1] The report said that Gandhiji added this sentence "after a moment's reflection".

[2] *Vide* pp. 34-5.

KEY WORDS OR SENTENCES MAY ALTER WHOLE MEANING. IF MUTILATION OF STATEMENTS IS CONSIDERED NECESSARY IN DUE COURSE PERHAPS IT WILL BE EXTENDED TO "HARIJAN" WRITINGS. IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO KNOW GOVERNMENT POLICY DEFINITELY I CAN SHAPE MY COURSE ACCORDINGLY. I CAN CONTINUE MY WRITINGS ONLY IF I AM UNHAMPERED. SHALL ESTEEM EARLY REPLY.[1]

GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 7851. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

88. *TELEGRAM TO RUIKER AND OTHERS*[2]

October 17, 1940

ARE YOU QUALIFIED? DO YOU BELIEVE IN CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMMES?

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan M. Desai

89. *LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL*

October 17, 1940

CHI. AMALA,

I got a letter from you after a long time. Why do you keep indifferent health? The asthma must be cured. Do you take any treatment?

Blessings from
BAPU

MARGARETE SPIEGEL
COLABA
BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original: Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] In his reply dated October 19, the addressee said: "Thank you for your telegram of October 17. I postponed reply until reaching Delhi today. I have confirmed from departments here that no orders have been issued regarding censorship of your Press statements."

[2] According to Mahadev Desai, this was sent in reply to telegram from R. S. Ruiker, President, All-India Forward Bloc, Patwardhan and Khandekar, who had sought Gandhiji's permission to launch individual satyagraha.

90. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

October 17, 1940

CHI. KANCHAN,

I have your letter. You will be fully restored to health in a few days. Write to me regularly. Tell Sushilabehn[1] everything about yourself. Tell her also about all your worries.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8280. Also C.W. 7104. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

91. LETTER TO SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 18, 1940

MY DEAR SAILENDRA,

If you can without any harm to the A.I.S.A. be relieved, you should come here and I shall see what can be done for you. There is a commercial college, too, in Wardha where you can qualify if necessary. You should be in a position to earn decently. But you should rise on the strength of your own merits.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI SAILENDRA CHATTERJEE
E 76 COLLEGE STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: C.W. 10166. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] Dr. Sushila Nayyar

92. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEVAGRAM,
October 18, 1940

CHI. PREMA,

I have your letter. Women certainly do have a place.[1] But I do not know where this struggle will take me and the country. Everything is in God's hands.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10412. Also C.W. 6851. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

93. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

October 18, 1940

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I am glad you wrote. I continue to get news about Kanchan. She is being looked after well. Half of her food is sent by Sushila from home and half she gets from the hospital. There is no cause at all for worry. If you want to write to her brother, you may. He will stay somewhere and visit her whenever he wishes. I personally do not think that anyone need go. But if you wish, you may go. Sushilabehn is a member of the family and a responsible person. About the Punjab there is nothing to worry about. I forgot completely about Kunvarji. I had said that on the basis of what you yourself had told me. You had a suspicion at one time that his company might do harm.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8527. Also C.W. 7103. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] The addressee had asked whether women had a place in the individual satyagraha.

94. *LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 19, 1940

CHI. SHARMA,

There is a vast difference between the present civil disobedience and the earlier ones. It may hardly be necessary to call any other volunteer[1]. Your name is already with me. But you need not make any special preparation. You may carry on as if no one was to be called. Everyone should engage himself in constructive work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, between pp. 290 and 291

95. *LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 20, 1940

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I am exceedingly obliged to you for your telegram[2].

I had hoped that the instructions issued were merely local. Since sending you my telegram I have had further news that News Agencies had been informed that they were not to distribute my messages directly as they have done hitherto, but that all such messages were to be sent to headquarters at Delhi for censorship before they were distributed.

I also send you herewith a copy of notices received by registered publications. I should like to keep the public informed of the development of individual civil disobedience which is being carried on under my strict supervision. In view of the notice, I dread to send anything for printing to the local printing Press, for if I did send anything and the order were

[1] After Vinoba Bhave, who began the individual civil disobedience on October 17, 1940

[2] This was from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy; *vide* footnote 1, p. 111.

accepted, the local printing Press, which is purely a commercial concern, may come in for penalty. For the same reason I have hesitated to send any public statement. My chief motive in sending such statements would be to regularize the movement so as to ensure unadulterated non-violence. Up to now the response has been fully up to expectation. I was not certain about the Trade Union Congress. But its President who came to see me has assured me that no strike of a political nature will be resorted to without my consent.

Shri Vinoba Bhave's addresses are from the highest plane.[1] I have been sending Mahadev Desai to follow him and give me a full report of what he says. He is a strict disciplinarian and therefore will carry out most difficult instructions. His first extempore speech was not as I would have delivered it. Living in seclusion he had not followed closely the correspondence between us. He had, therefore, put the worst construction on it. I immediately sent him instructions that our code was to put the most favourable construction on the opponent's language. He accepted the correction and made the earliest amends by making a public admission. And his address of yesterday was unexceptionable. His main work, whilst he is free, will be to emphasize the necessity of the constructive programme and not to bother about civil disobedience (which will, for the moment, be confined to himself) being offered by others. All this development I would like Congressmen and the public at large to know. It is an education in courteous and non-violent conduct. And although we are 'at war' with each other we might observe the law which I claim specially belongs to the human species. But I know that the decision rests with you. I can only plead.[2]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 7582. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1940*, Vol. II, p. 36, on October 17, 1740, Vinoba Bhave, in his address to about 300 persons in Panam, said: "The Congress would not on ethical grounds help Great Britain in her war effort. He wondered why Great Britain claimed to fight democracy, which she denied to India."

[2] For the Viceroy's reply, *vide* Appendix V.

96. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 20, 1940

CHI. MIRA,

I have your big and good letter. Yes, I have started civil disobedience. It is confined only to Vinoba at present. I do not court imprisonment. Vinoba still remains free. If you will like me to give you news, I will. I won't tempt you nor disturb you. It is all well with you.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
PALAMPUR
KANGRA DISTRICT
PUNJAB

From the original: C.W. 6462. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10057

97. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 20, 1940

BHAI AMRITLAL,

Why need I ask Soni Ramji now? You yourself may discuss the matter with him and do what you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6317

98. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

October 19/21, 1940

CHI. KANCHAN,

Do you worry there, too? You are in your home there. You must return from there only after you are cured. Write to me, not to Munnalal, about whatever is weighing on your mind.

Ultimately Munnalal has to get everything done through me. I am sending you Munnalal's letter as it is. About Jagadishlal it is as I told you. You must shed all suspicion and fear. Keep cheerful. Stop worrying. Do not think about the future. Have faith that everything will be all right. Write to me regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

October 21, 1940

I got your letter today. You are bound to get well. Even if you have to stay there a little longer, isn't it your home? Vinoba has been sentenced to three months imprisonment.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8279. Also C.W. 7105. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

99. *TELEGRAM TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

WARDHA,
Express *October 21, 1940*

"HARIJAN" HAS RECEIVED NOTICE[1] DATED 18TH THAT NOTHING CONNECTED WITH VINOBA'S SATYAGRAHA MAY BE PUBLISHED WITHOUT PREVIOUS REFERENCE CHIEF PRESS ADVISER DELHI. THIS I VENTURE SAY IS SERIOUS INTERFERENCE WITH LIBERTY OF PRESS. I HOPE THIS DOES NOT REPRESENT CONSIDERED POLICY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. I BASE MY HOPE ON YOUR KIND WIRE OF 19TH TO WHICH I HAVE REPLIED BY LETTER[2].

GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 7853. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] For the text, *vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 124-6.

[2] *Vide* pp. 114-5. The Viceroy's reply to the telegram read: "Your telegram of 21st. I have ascertained from Home Department that instructions issued to *Harijan* and to all other papers were not mandatory but advisory as indicated in a letter received with your letter of 20th October to which I am replying separately, object in view being interest of editors as publication of prejudicial reports will render them liable to prosecution under Defence Rule 38."

100. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHAGANJ,
October 21, 1940

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
FYZABAD

VINOBA ARRESTED EARLY MORNING. TRIAL TODAY. THINKING NEXT STEP.

BAPU

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1940. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

101. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

October 21, 1940

Mr. Vinoba Bhave was arrested after three this morning. This was to be expected. I have not advised hartal but have not discouraged spontaneous closing of shops. I could not for instance disregard the wishes of managers of the numerous institutions of Wardha which bear Mr. Vinoba's indelible impress. No suspension of work would take place without the willing consent of employers. Congressmen should not be impatient about the next step. Every imprisonment in individual civil disobedience is a complete step in itself. The plan this time is not to have a continuous stream of resisters. I am making note of names that are sent to me. But senders should not suspend their normal activities. There is little chance of my calling them. I am not going to invite anyone who does not believe in spinning and khaddar as visible emblems of non-violence and removal of the last trace of untouchability and establishment of communal unity as obvious symbols of non-violence. Nor will all such who are so equipped be necessarily invited. The question before me is not whom to send next but to know how the millions react to his imprisonment. How many does he represent? Those who hug untouchability and regard communal unity as impossible or who believe neither in the charkha nor in the other village industries and, therefore, in the regeneration of the six hundred thousand villages—for such Mr. Vinoba

is of no use. In their estimation he must be a hindrance to the political, economic and social advance of India. And yet without the Congress vindicating its elementary right of preaching non-violence at this crucial hour there will be no independence for India. Britain's claim to fight for democracy is being shattered at every step. There is no democracy in India. Indians remain, in the words of an Englishman, what they have always been—helots of empire. But success in the non-violent Congress fight for freedom must mean success for real democracy throughout the world. It must mean freedom for the Europeans in Europe and for all the non-white races of the earth. Such success must not be a camouflage. It must be the clearest possible demonstration of non-violence. The result aimed at is extraordinary. The remedy, too, must, therefore, be equally extraordinary. It is for Congressmen to show now by their action whether they believe in the non-violent method as I have placed it before them and whether they will act up to their belief.

The Hitavada, 23-10-1940

102. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHA,
October 21, 1940

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

So Vinoba has been fixed up. His four days' ministry has been quite successful from my point of view.

I am issuing a note[1] which you will see. Professor[2] telephoned saying you were ready. I have seen your statement too. I would still like to ask you whether you can see anything to commend itself to you in all I am writing and doing. I would not like you to go in merely as a disciplinarian. My present conception requires those who believe in the plan—not in every detail but in the main. *Verb. sap.*

Drop me a wire[3] if you can.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1940. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, p. 443

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress

[3] In his telegram dated October 24, Jawaharlal Nehru said: "Your letter. Agree generally."

103. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
October 21, 1940

This is why I have written[1] to Sailen. If he comes here I can do something for him, and the family in Calcutta may be well provided for. You may send Rs. 20 now. But the rest will depend upon Sailen's decision.

From a photostat: C.W. 1451. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

104. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 21, 1940

CHI. BRIJKISAN,

I got your letter. I am not planning the sort of satyagraha that you imagine. If I undertake a fast, then you can come although your duty will be to remain engrossed in constructive work. When, if at all, there will be a fast, I have not the least idea.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2479

105. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 22, 1940

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

Herewith I send you a copy of a wire received from Alwar.

Najim Thanedar publicly injured me seriously forcibly realizing war funds. Paid 251 mortgaging grand-daughter's ornaments. Population

[1] *Vide* p. 112.

terrorized. Pray intervene. Jaharia Mahajan Padmara, Mundawar, Alwar State.

I take it that it makes no difference in the charge of 'under pressure' whether it is exercised in the British part of India or the States part.[1]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

106. LETTER TO CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 22, 1940

DEAR CHARU BABU,

I have read your scheme. You should confine yourself to Dhanush *takli*. The money you should raise locally. This you will get as your work advances. If I began to find funds for all enterprises—very worthy—I should be overwhelmed. And it would be a mushroom growth. Never mind if you have to wait a bit but rely upon your own ability to command credit or come directly under the Charkha Sangh.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI
DIRECTOR, KHADI MANDIR
DIAMOND HARBOUR
24 PARGANAS, BENGAL

From a photostat: G.N. 8697. Also C.W. 1467

[1] The Private Secretary to the Viceroy replied on receipt of another letter of the kind from Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to Lord Linlithgow", 4-11-1940.

107. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
October 22, 1940

Let him have it all if he wants it. Ask him how he felt after the large quantity he had in the morning.

Let him write under this or better still take someone who can hear S[ailendra] and t[ake] down what he says.

From a photostat : C.W. 1452. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

108. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 22, 1940

CHI. MAGAN,

I have your letter. If you fail now, resign yourself to your fate giving up your craze for examination; get absorbed in work. The knowledge you have gained will not go waste.

It is not good that Manjula[1] should repeatedly get fever. Come after she is well. After the 15th November, it will be quite cool here. Tell Urmila[2] to write to me. She must be fine. How is Ratilal[3]? Do something for him. There was a letter from him saying that he wanted to come here and clear up the matter with Prabhashankar[4]. I have written to him advising him to have patience. On the other hand Champa[5] writes to say that he borrows money on interest from the Pathans.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MAGANLAL PRANJIVANDAS MEHTA
BRAJ BHAVAN, BRIDGE ELLIS
AHMEDABAD

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1608. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

[1],[2]&[3] Addressee's wife, daughter and brother
[4] Ratilal's father-in-law
[5] Ratilal's wife

109. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI G. PATEL

October 22, 1940

CHI. SHIVABHAI,

I got your letter and the roll of cloth. I have gone through the figures. They are promising. Hard work always pays. Give my congratulations to all those who have contributed to the work. Gangabehn[1] has explained everything to me in detail. Use whatever yarn and money you have collected for me for the khadi work there. Suryachandra[2] found everything strange here for a day or two. Now he is happy.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHIVABHAI G. PATEL
VALLABH VIDYALAYA
BOCHASAN
BORSAD TALUKA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9519. Also C.W. 436. Courtesy: Shivabhai G. Patel

110. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

October 22, 1940

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Once the money that you have is spent, both of you will be free from worries. At present consciously or unconsciously you depend on it. The contentment and happiness you can enjoy when you have no money, you will know only from experience. Then also Kanchan will get the same treatment she is getting today. Need I say anything about you? Have no worry, therefore.

The *Harijan* file is of course round my neck. But you are not in a hurry. Whatever is received has to be read.

[1] Gangabehn Vaidya
[2] Addressee's son

You yourself have to find your work here. Pyarelal certainly needs you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8526. Also C.W. 7106. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

111. TELEGRAM TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WARDHA,
October 23, 1940

GURUDEV
DWARKANATH TAGORE LANE
CALCUTTA

THANK GOD YOU ARE OUT OF DANGER.[1] IF IT WOULD ADD TO YOUR RAPID CONVALESCENCE I GIVE YOU NEWS THAT NEVER A DAY HAS PASSED BUT I HAVE THOUGHT OF ANDREWS MEMORIAL. I WON'T REST TILL COLLECTIONS COME IN AS THEY OUGHT. AM BIDING MY TIME. LOVE.

GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 10288

112. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[2]

WARDHA,
October 24, 1940

On the 18th instant the Editor of *Harijan* received the following notice from the District Magistrate's Office, Poona:

> I am directed by Government to advise you that no account of incidents leading up to satyagraha by Vinoba Bhave and no report of his speeches or any subsequent developments should be published without previous reference to the Chief Press Adviser, Delhi.

[1] *Vide* also p. 73.
[2] This appeared under the title "Why Suspension".

> I would like to bring to your notice that this is in your own interest to avoid prosecution under Rule 38 of the Defence of India Rules.

Thereupon I entered into correspondence[1] with H. E. the Viceroy. Correspondence is still going on. But it is necessary for me to take a decision today for, if I did not, there my be waste of public money. In view of the reply hitherto received, I have no course left open but to suspend publication of *Harijan*, *Harijanbandhu* and *Harijan Sevak*. I cannot function freely if I have to send to the Press Adviser at New Delhi every line I write about satyagraha. It is true that the notice is only advisory, and that therefore I am not bound to act up to it. But the consequence of disregard of advice is also stated in the notice. I have no desire to risk a prosecution against the Editors. The three weeklies have been conducted in the interest of truth and therefore of all parties concerned. But I cannot serve that interest if the editing has to be done under threat of prosecution. Liberty of the Press is a dear privilege, apart from the advisability or otherwise of civil disobedience. The Government have shown their intention clearly by the prosecution of Shri Vinoba Bhave. I have no complaint to make against the prosecution. It was an inevitable result of the Defence of India Rules. But the liberty of the Press stands on a different footing. I am unable to reconcile myself to the notice which although in the nature of advice, is in reality an order whose infringement will carry its own consequence.

I am sorry to have to disappoint the numerous readers of the three weeklies. Next week I shall be able to let the public know whether it is to be merely a suspension or an indefinite stopping of the three weeklies. I shall still hope that it will be merely a suspension and that my fear will prove to be groundless. But should it prove otherwise, I may inform the public that satyagraha is independent of Press advertisement. If it is real, it carries with it its own momentum; and I believe the present satyagraha to be very real. It will go on. I will not be provoked into any hasty action. I am still not ready with the next move. But as I have said in my previous statement[2], every act of civil disobedience is complete in itself. This Press notice shows how effective it has been. Every act of repression adds strength to the reality. Satyagraha thrives

[1] *Vide* pp. 110-1 and 114-5.
[2] *Vide* pp. 118-9.

on repression till at last the repressor is tired of it and the object of satyagraha is gained. Whether, therefore, I take the next step or not and when I take it, is a matter of no consequence to the public. Let those who sympathize with it follow implicitly the instructions I have issued. I believe, and my belief has been tested repeatedly, that thought deliberately thought and controlled is a power greater than speech or writing and any day greater than steam which is husbanded and controlled. We see the latter every day carrying incredible weights even across steep precipices. Thought-power overcomes much greater obstacles and easily carries greater weights. But let me give a practical hint to the non-believer in the power of thought husbanded and controlled. Let everyone become his own walking newspaper and carry the good news from mouth to mouth. This does not mean what boys used to do in the past, viz., trumpeting about of bits of news. The idea here is of my telling my neighbour what I have authentically heard. This no Government can overtake or suppress. It is the cheapest newspaper yet devised and it defies the wit of Government, however clever it may be. Let these walking newspapers be sure of the news they give. They should not indulge in any idle gossip. They should make sure of the source of information, and they will find that the public gets all the information that they need without opening their morning newspaper which, they should know, will contain garbled, one-sided information and therefore not worth the trouble of reading. For it may be that even the public statements such as I am now issuing may also be stopped. It is the condition of life under an autocratic Government, whether foreign or indigenous.

Harijan, 10-11-1940

113. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHA,
October 24, 1940

DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I was glad to have your wire[1]. If my statement[2] has been allowed, you will have seen it before this.

If you are ready, you may now ceremonially declare your civil disobedience. I would suggest your choosing a village for

[1] *Vide* footnote 3, p. 119.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

your audience. I do not suppose they will allow you to repeat your speech. They were not ready with their plans so far as Vinoba was concerned. But should they let you free I suggest your following the plan[1] laid down for Vinoba. But if you feel otherwise, you will follow your own course. Only I would like you to give me your programme. You will fix your own date so as to leave me time for announcing the date and place. It may be that they won't let you even fulfil your very first programme. I am prepared for every such step on the part of the Government. Whilst I would make use of every legitimate method seeking publicity for our programme, my reliance is on regulated thought producing its own effect. If this is hard for you to believe, I would ask you to suspend judgment and watch results. I know you will yourself be patient and ask our people on your side to do likewise. I know what strain you are bearing in giving me your loyalty. I prize it beyond measure. I hope it will be found to have been well-placed, for it is 'do or die'. There is no turning back. Our case is invulnerable. There is no giving in. Only I must be allowed to go my way in demonstrating the power of non-violence when it is unadulterated.

Maulana Saheb telephoned saying I should choose another man for the second satyagraha. I told him I could not do so if you consented to come in.

I would like your reaction to the step I have taken regarding *Harijan*.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1940. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, pp. 443-4

[1] *Vide* p. 103.

114. LETTER TO KISANSINH CHAVDA

October 24, 1940

BHAI KISANSINH,

I have your letter. When did you become free? Please write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KISANSINH CHAVDA
PARDESI MOHOLLO
MADAN JHANPA ROAD
BARODA

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9939. Courtesy: Kisansinh Chavda

115. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

October 24, 1940

BAPA,

Your hastily written and unrevised letter is nonetheless perfect. Your handwriting, even when you write in haste, is as clear as Mahadev's. Your descriptions also are pleasing.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1185

116. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[1]

[After *October 24, 1940*][2]

Q. Will Government's ban on reports of anti-war meetings lead to any revision in the plan of individual civil disobedience?

A. There is likely to be some revision but it will be all in the direction of stiffening non-violence.

You have said[3] that each Indian should be "his own walking newspaper". Don't you feel that the ban may only give currency to exaggerated rumours? How do you propose obviating this?

If the people do not catch the spirit of my advice, there will undoubtedly be exaggerated rumours and I confess that I have no control over all without exception, and exceptions, however few they may be, can easily upset the apple-cart. I have no method for obviating the exaggeration. The Government should be held solely responsible for mishaps that may arise out of their complete black-out by their Press-gagging ordinance. It seems to me they are outdoing Nazism.

Do you propose obeying the ban?

I have no intention of defying the ban. Have I not anticipated it by suspending the publication of the three weeklies controlled by me? Civil disobedience as conceived this time is of an extraordinary nature designed to meet an extraordinary situation.

What is your reaction to this ban? It is said, the language of the ban is taken from similar restrictive orders in Great Britain. Is that any justification?

My reaction to the ban is that the Government have overreached themselves. Language of the ban may be borrowed from Great Britain but how can they borrow the conditions operating in Great Britain? In Great Britain it is people's rule, the

[1] D. G. Tendulkar explains that the questions were received from "Frank Moraes on behalf of *The News Chronicle*, London".

[2] From the reference to the suspension of "the three weeklies" by Gandhiji; *vide* pp. 124-6.

[3] *Vide* p. 126.

Constitution is in full working order. In India it is one man's rule who is responsible to nobody in India. The contrast between the two is staggering. It is defiance of all propriety to copy the language which may be quite proper for Britain but which is quite improper for India. It is like imposing on India in mid-summer the British fur-coat of mid-winter.

From a facsimile: *Mahatma, Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. 6, between pp. 8 and 9

117. TELEGRAM TO LORD LINLITHGOW

WARDHA,
October 25, 1940

H. E. VICEROY
NEW DELHI

THANKS FOR WIRE[1] OF 24TH. IT HAS COME AS PAINFUL SURPRISE. ADVICE WHOSE REJECTION MAY INVOLVE PENALTY IS VERY LIKE MANDATE. AS MERE ADVICE NOTICE WAS SUPERFLUOUS. EVERY EDITOR IS PRESUMED TO KNOW LAW UNDER WHICH HE EDITS HIS PAPER. IN CIRCUMSTANCES I HAVE BEEN RELUCTANTLY OBLIGED TO SUSPEND PUBLICATION OF THREE PAPERS FOR WHICH I AM RESPONSIBLE. I HAVE ISSUED PRESS STATEMENT[2] WHICH IF NOT CENSORED YOU WILL HAVE SEEN. SUSPENSION WILL BE WITHDRAWN IF I AM LEFT SCOPE FOR RESUMING PUBLICATION. HAVE NO DESIRE PUBLISH WEEKLIES UNLESS YOUR GOVERNMENT APPRECIATE THAT THEY ARE FRIENDLY NOTWITHSTANDING THEIR FEARLESS CRITICISM AND EVEN ADVOCACY CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 7854 a. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 117.
[2] *Vide* pp. 124-6.

118. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHA,
October 25, 1940

J. NEHRU
ANAND BHAWAN
ALLAHABAD

LETTER[1] POSTED TODAY.

BAPU

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1940. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

119. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

October 25, 1940

BHAI VITHALDAS,

I have your letter about the Meerut Ashram. I am trying to stabilize the Ashram. I hope I shall succeed. Tell vaid not to give up his trade entirely. Let him master the science of spinning and desist from unnecessary suppression of the body. His body should be vigorous.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VITHALDAS JERAJANI
A.I.S.A. KHADI BHANDAR
396 KALBADEVI
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9797

[1] Dated October 24; *vide* pp. 126-7.

120. LETTER TO SYED ABDUL LATIF

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 26, 1940

DEAR DR. LATIF,

I have read with attention your outline[1] which you kindly sent me. I can offer no useful criticism as my objection holds good the same way as when I raised it to your first scheme. The underlying idea is repugnant to me. For me India is one indivisible. I believe in a blending of cultures, not in their being kept in water-tight compartments. It should be enough for you to know that I am open to conviction and that you are free to convert me to your view.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

121. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

October 26, 1940

CHI. KANCHAN,

I have your letter. I am glad that you are on the rails again. I am quite certain that you will get well soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8278. Also C.W. 7107. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1940,* Vol. I, p. 117, the addressee, ex-professor of English in the Osmania University, had in his pamphlet "The Cultural Future of India" elaborated the theme that "Islam and Hinduism stand asunder", and on this finding built up his scheme of "Hindu Zones" and "Muslim Zones" in India. His draft scheme was placed before the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on March 25, 1939.

122. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 26, 1940

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I liked your article very much. I gave it to Krishnadas. His reply is not as good. You may, however, read it and reply to it when you have the time. *Harijan Sevak* is now closed. But what do I care? I am seeking truth. I had not imagined that *Harijan Sevak* and other journals would have to be closed down so soon. But are not the ways of governments also inscrutable?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am also enclosing your article by separate book-post. Please return it.

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8039. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

123. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

[*October 26, 1940*][1]

Some of it seems to be true, but the suggested cure seems to be wrong. Some of it is purely imaginary. The only remedy for you is not to let your mind dwell on these thoughts. Keep your mind occupied with thoughts about work.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8335

[1] The note is written on the page of a diary covering October 24 to 26.

124. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

October 27, 1940

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

You are strong and a lion[1], hence now and again the fangs show.

I read the letter sent through Rajkumari. I liked it and I had started to act according to it. Today's letter shows the fangs as well as two sharp claws. It is good that I keep getting glimpses of that side of you. I shall be cautious.

I don't know this Sambhaji. Whoever he is, what does he know of my affairs? I shall take what land I want. There is no fear that I may not be able to get it. I have not the least doubt about Jamnalalji. He is one of those who stand firm on their pledged word. The Trust will remain just as it is. I have complete faith in Rajkumari also. The land which belongs to the Trust cannot be misappropriated by a trustee.

I agree with your contention that you cannot become a member of any committee. Do whatever you can by remaining out of it. I shall be content with it.

I shall call both when the occasion arises. You forgot the torch; why should I remember it? Now I shall send it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1937

125. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 27, 1940

CHI. SHARMA,

I got your beautiful letter. Since I wish to demonstrate on this occasion total ahimsa as I have visualized it, I do not

[1] The addressee's name, literally, means 'strong lion'.

intend to send more than two or three persons. It is likely that I may not send any.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, between pp. 292 and 293

126. CABLE TO CARL HEATH[1]

WARDHAGANJ,
October 28, 1940

CARL HEATH
FRIENDS HOUSE
EUSTON ROAD
LONDON

ALL EFFORT FAILED. INDIAN CONDITION WHOLLY DIFFERENT AND UNIQUE. PRESS[2] GAGGED[3]. HAVE STOPPED "HARIJAN" WEEKLIES. RESTRICTING CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS OF NON-VIOLENCE.

GANDHI

Home, Political, File No. 3/33/40-Poll.(I). Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also G.N. 1046

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's cable (G.N. 1045) dated October 17, which read: "Deeply regretted issue conversations. Agree personally your peace principle yet feel no *de facto* government in present fierce struggle can admit organized opposition. Recognizing new formula essential. Group renewing effort here for solution of fundamental constitutional problem. Urge you Congress co-operate in this and suspend irrevocable action." *Vide* also pp. 76 and 107-8.

[2] & [3] These two words were scored out by the Censor.

127. LETTER TO ABDULLA HAROON RASHEED

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 28, 1940

DEAR HAJEE SAHEB,

I see you have published only an extract from my letter[1]. It gives rise to a misunderstanding. Will it not be better for you to publish the full text of my letter?

HAJI ABDULLA HAROON

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

128. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEVAGRAM,
October 28, 1940

CHI. PREMA,

What a woman you are! You seem to be fated to fast. Of course, for a satyagrahi occasion must come some day or other when he has to resort to fasting. But if you cannot live without me, you can gladly accompany me. But not by starving yourself. Light the fire of yoga and consume yourself in it. Your fasting would certainly mean your starving yourself. One must acquire the right to fast. One who understands this will dance when someone like me undertakes a fast. He will consider it an occasion for rejoicing. He would go on doing the work for which the fast was undertaken. Fasting, after all, has certain conditions attached to it and when these conditions are fulfilled, the fast ends. Do not lose your reason.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10413. Also C.W. 6852. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] Of this, only the last two sentences were reported in *The Hitavada*, 23-10-1940. For the full text, *vide* pp. 97-8.

129. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

October 29, 1940

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Both the things can be done. Learn what you can in three months at Maganwadi and make use of that knowledge here. Do this after a month. Here our ultimate aim in everything is to realize God. There will be no harm, therefore, if you join us here. And if the villagers want you and if you are sure that you can control your temper, you may join in that work too. If your mind is calm, you will be able to do a lot. Just now the circumstances are such that the best work can be done only here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8525. Also C.W. 7108. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

130. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 30, 1940

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I have to thank you about your letter[1] of the 24th instant.

As to the first paragraph of your letter, I have already given[2] you my reaction to the notices referred to by you.

The second paragraph is astounding. Reducing your language to simple terms you tell me that I must be punished if I do not behave myself. I hardly needed to be given the warning. But I do not mind it. The language used by you shows the pains you have taken to conceal your meaning in as gentle words as the English language and your exalted office will let you.

But I was wholly unprepared for your assumptions. I have nowhere said that I desire freedom to conduct a civil disobedience

[1] *Vide* Appendix V.
[2] *Vide* p. 130,

movement in a way that commends itself to me and that for that purpose I wish to enjoy unrestricted access to the public through the ordinary channels of publicity. You will see from my statement[1]—copy of which is hereto attached—that I have claimed that civil disobedience can be conducted without publicity through newspapers. This statement was published before your letter reached me. Indeed, if civil disobedience depended for its conduct upon the mercy of the Government against which it was directed, it must be poor stuff, utterly worthless for the purpose intended. It seeks through self-suffering to convert the opponent.

You then say:

> Although, however, you evidently wish me to believe that this movement which you have initiated will be more dangerous if you do not enjoy these facilities, I must credit you personally with the desire that it should succeed in its avowed object, that of persuading the public to withhold all support from India's war effort.

There is no warrant in my letter for the belief entertained by you. The whole purpose of my letter[2] has been missed. It was to commend to your sympathetic attention the fact that I was taking extraordinary precautions to ensure non-violence, and the further fact that to that end I was restricting the movement to the fewest possible typical individuals. I had hugged the belief that you would, as a friend, be pleased with the information and, recognizing the fact, you would not put yourself in the wrong by passing the wholly unnecessary drastic gagging ordinance you have passed. You have by that ordinance demonstrated to the world that you could not conduct the war through India except by stifling public opinion. I had hoped that you would be satisfied with such aid as the Princes, moneyed men and professional warlike classes could give you. They could not come under my or the Congress influence.

I am sure you will not compare India with Britain. In Britain you have the Houses of Parliament through which the nation acts. Here you have powers derived not from India but from Great Britain that no single individual in the wide world enjoys over so many people. I had hoped that you would use them with restraint. It was for that purpose that I had sought the last interview and stayed beyond my time so that I might not be said to have rushed you. For the moment the hope

[1] *Vide* pp. 124-6.

[2] *Vide* pp. 114-5.

has been dashed to pieces. I ask you to believe me when I tell you that, in every single step I have taken, I have thought of you and your people as your and their true friend. One day you will feel the truth of this remark if you do not today.

But I accept your verdict for the moment. I do not want to conduct the movement secretly. Nor can I allow non-violence to perish by default. I might, therefore, give the only thing I have in me to give—my life. I told you about the possibility of a fast, prolonged or unto death. I was waiting on God to find what is to be the case. I am trying hard to avoid it but I may not be able to do so. You will have another letter from me when I have come to the final conclusion.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been with me. I had invited him to be the next resister. He had consented. Your ordinance came after. And the fast idea possessed me. He has an open mind on the fast. But he thinks, and I have agreed with him, that the contemplated resistance by him should be completed before entertaining the idea of the fast. Therefore the very next step is to be his civil resistance. As soon as the date and place are finally decided, I shall let you have them for your information.

I hope you will not resent this letter. I have written as a friend to a friend and not as a member of the public to you as the Viceroy. I have not written to seek publicity or to make a point against you. I will not publish this letter or any part of the recent correspondence between us without your consent.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 7855. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

131. *TO THE READER*

You must have seen through my Press notice[1] that the publication of *Harijan* and the other two weeklies had been suspended. In it I had expressed the hope that the suspension might be only for a week. But I see that the hope had no real foundation. I shall miss my weekly talks with you, as I expect you too will miss them. The value of those talks consisted in their being a faithful record of my deepest thoughts. Such expression

[1] *Vide* pp. 124-6,

is impossible in a cramped atmosphere. As I have no desire to offer civil disobedience, I cannot write freely. As the author of satyagraha I cannot, consistently with my professions, suppress the vital part of myself for the sake of being able to write on permissible subjects such as the constructive programme. It would be like dealing with the trunk without the head. The whole of the constructive programme is to me an expression of non-violence. I would be denying myself if I could not preach non-violence. For that would be the meaning of submission to the latest ordinance. The suspension must, therefore, continue while the gagging lasts. It constitutes a satyagrahi's respectful protest against the gag. Is not satyagraha giving an ell when an inch is asked for by the wrongdoer? Is it not giving the cloak also when only the coat is demanded? It may be asked why this reversal of the ordinary process? The ordinary process is based on violence. If my life were regulated by violence, in the last resort I would refuse to give an inch lest an ell might be asked for. I would be a fool if I did otherwise. But if my life is regulated by non-violence, I should be prepared to and actually give an ell when an inch is asked for. By so doing I produce on the usurper a strange and even pleasurable sensation. He would also be confounded and would not know what to do with me. So much for the 'enemy'. I, having made up my mind to surrender every non-essential, gain greater strength than ever before to die for the defence and preservation of what I hold to be essential. I was, therefore, wrongly accused by my critics of having advised[1] cowardly surrender to Nazism by Englishmen when I suggested that they should lay down external arms, let the Nazis overrun Britain if they dare, but develop internal strength to refuse to sell themselves to the Nazis. Full surrender of non-essentials is a condition precedent to accession of internal strength to defend the essential by dying.

But I am not writing this to convert the English to my view. I am writing this to suggest to you that my surrender to the framers of the gagging ordinance is an object-lesson to you, the reader, in satyagraha. If you will quietly work out in your own life the implications of the lesson, you will then not need the weekly aid from the written word in *Harijan*. Even without your weekly *Harijan* you will know how I shall myself work out the full implications of giving an ell when an inch is wanted. A correspondent pleads with me that on no

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXII, "To Every Briton", pp. 229-31.

account should I suspend *Harijan*, for, he says, his non-violence is sustained by the weekly food he gets therefrom. If he has really done so, then this self-imposed restraint should teach him more than a vapid continuation of weekly *Harijan*.

One word as to the practical question. You are a subscriber to one of the weeklies. I do not know, when, if ever, they will be resumed. You are entitled to the return of the unused balance of your subscription. On receipt of a postcard from you to the Manager, *Harijan*, Poona, for a refund, a money order for it will be sent to you. Those who do not ask for a refund will have their paper sent to them if it is resumed. If it is not, the unused balance will be spent in covering any loss that may be caused in winding up. And then the balance, if any, will be sent to the Harijan Sevak Sangh for use in the service of Harijans. If *Harijan* is not resumed within six months, it will be deemed to have been finally wound up. Meanwhile goodbye.

SEVAGRAM, October 31, 1940

Harijan, 10-11-1940

132. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

October 31, 1940

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. It is not good your being ill. What work can you do there if you are ill? Get well soon and go away.

Jawaharlal left yesterday. He will now court imprisonment.

There was nothing special in Jayaprakash's letter. I have replied to him.

Here someone or the other is always ill. There is always one sick-bed. At the moment it is Lilavati's brother, Lakshmidas. It seems he has typhoid. He will get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3549

133. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

October 31, 1940

CHI. MUNNALAL,

It is good that you wrote. I don't give a long reply.

My experiment is certainly new. If I undertake the fast, it will certainly be tainted with attachment for the fruit. But all beginnings are tainted. We have to balance the pros and cons. If the pros exceed, we may embark on the attempt. This seems to be such a case.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8523. Also C.W. 7109. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

134. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

November 1, 1940

CHI. MANUDI,

I have your postcard. May you all be happy in this New Year[1]. When are you coming? I am not very eager to call you. There is illness here at present—it is typhoid. There are a lot of people also. But if you wish to come, you may. I will certainly like it. Ba of course wishes it. Illness will come and go, but that does not mean that a person may not go home. But do as the two[2] of you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. MANUBEHN
BALKIRAN
SOUTH AVENUE
SANTA CRUZ
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2678. Courtesy: Kanubhai N. Mashruwala

[1] According to Vikram Calendar, New Year begins on the day following Dewali. In 1940, it was on November 1.

[2] The addressee and her husband, Surendra B. Mashruwala

135. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

November 1, 1940

CHI. NARAHARI,

Vasumatibehn[1] says that as I am contemplating a fast, she is not inclined to go there. I tell her that she ought not to neglect her duty and stay on here, to which she replies that she does not have there any such responsible work to attend to. I told her that you would decide about that. She has agreed to that. You have to decide only from the point of view of dharma. If she stays here, it won't be to serve me. There are many others who will do that.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI NARAHARI PARIKH/VASUMATIBEHN
HARIJAN ASHRAM, SABARMATI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9120

136. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

November 1, 1940

CHI. MITHUBEHN,

Chi. Vijaya[2] is leaving today with Manubhai[3]. She is very weak. She does not put on weight though she is not suffering from any disease. Previously she was suffering from dysentery, but now there is no symptom of it. I have asked her to go there. If she comes, please see if something can be done. I heard about everything from Ba. It is not good that you are not taking proper care of your health. You have a lot of work yet to do.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MITHUBEHN PETIT
KHADI KARYALAYA
MAROLI, *via* NAVSARI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2719

[1] Vasumati Pandit
[2] & [3] Vijayabehn and Manubhai Pancholi

137. LETTER TO UMA AGRAWAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 1, 1940

CHI. OM[1] ALIAS SLEEPING BEAUTY,

Did you do me a great favour by writing? You should bow to Nanda Devi, etc., on my behalf also. Now at last you are a resident of the mountains. It is no small thing that you remember us. Be happy, all of you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*, p. 344

138. TO THE READERS

I had hoped, when I made public my intention[2] of suspending *Harijanbandhu*, that the suspension might be only for a week and as a result of my correspondence with H.E. the Viceroy it might be possible to publish it again soon. But the outcome was just the opposite. My hope was without any basis. There is no reason to regard this as a bad omen. Satyagraha tests the satyagrahi as also the opponent. There is certainly a difference between the two tests. A satyagrahi's shortcomings are eliminated as satyagraha progresses, while those of the opponent's come to light, as a result of which he is transformed.

But at the moment I do not wish to focus attention on the faults of my opponents. I wish to explain briefly to the readers why *Harijanbandhu* is to be suspended for an indefinite period. I had two alternatives before me. Either to accept the restrictions imposed by the Government and continue publishing *Harijanbandhu* under limitations or to reject the restrictions and suspend its publication. The second alternative alone would bring credit to a satyagrahi. A satyagrahi should offer a hand where a finger is demanded, while practical wisdom would be

[1] Daughter of Jamnalal Bajaj
[2] *Vide* pp. 124-6.

to drive him away, so that he will never have the courage to ask for the hand. However this policy is for those who rely on *himsa*. A non-violent person depends on the opposite policy. A violent person engages himself in safeguarding material and mortal things and either forgets or undermines the inner and the immortal self. A non-violent person is ever ready to forsake the material things and serves and protects the inner self. So it becomes his dharma to offer a hand to one who asks for a finger. This dharma ultimately leads to all-round happiness.

Let us examine its result. An opponent who gets a hand on asking for a finger is surprised and thereby will possibly be confounded. When he has such surprising experiences from time to time, he is likely to give up opposition of the non-violent. A non-violent person, while adhering to his dharma, adds to his strength, his capacity to sacrifice grows, he understands better the value of inner strength, and his strength to face the calamity of any kind increases.

As a votary of non-violence, that is, a satyagrahi, I am left with only the second alternative. I experienced a sense of relief when I chose to suspend publication of *Harijanbandhu* and I repeat the immortal lines of Narsinh Mehta:

> Better it is that the worldly bonds are broken,
> Easier it will be to attain the Lord.

Mahadev says that the correct version is: "I shall worship the Lord in peace." I don't know how, but I have always remembered the wrong version and have derived solace from it. I, therefore, retain that. My faith is daily growing that I will attain God only through such sacrifices, not otherwise. Here God means the freedom of India.

But, Readers, what about you? I loved my weekly talks with you as I expect you, too, loved them. I tried to explain to you the meaning of satyagraha in various ways. But now? If you have followed properly my writings in *Harijanbandhu*, then I am sure you will follow satyagraha better by my sacrifice and my conduct hereafter. How long shall I explain it to you by writing and talking to you? What you do not get from my conduct, you will never get from my words. An ounce of my conduct, that is, what I am doing, is several times more valuable than a ton of philosophizing.

I have to tell you only this much: wear khadi, spin with perseverence every day, make Harijans your own, treat the followers of other religions with equality and achieve unity. Your

body may fall, your house and belongings may go, but do not do anything which your conscience does not allow. Examine the thirteen-point programme and what I have not mentioned above, you may add to it. If you act accordingly, you will not feel the need of a newspaper and be sure that the Ganga in the form of swaraj will come to your doorsteps without any effort.

Now one thing very practical. Your yearly subscription is not over yet. You will have some balance due to you in the books of *Harijanbandhu*. You are entitled to ask for the refund of the balance. I hope *Harijanbandhu* will come out again some day. If it does, you will get the journal as long as your balance lasts. But if you do not want to wait, write a postcard to the Manager, *Harijanbandhu*, Poona-4. He will send you the balance. If the restriction on *Harijanbandhu* is not lifted within six months, it will be deemed to have been finally wound up, and the balance will be spent in covering any loss that may be caused in winding up. The balances of subscriptions will be sent to those subscribers who ask for it and the share of those who do not ask for it will be sent to the Harijan Sevak Sangh for the welfare of Harijans.

For the present *Vandemataram*.[1]

SEVAGRAM, November 2, 1940

[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 9-11-1940

139. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 2, 1940

CHI. MIRA,

I have your good letter. I am preserving it, for some time at any rate. You must keep your body in good order. The things you want are being got ready and will be sent soon, including your khadi.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
PALAMPUR
KANGRA DISTRICT, PUNJAB

From the original: C.W. 6463. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10058

[1] A similar article in Hindi appeared in *Harijan Sevak*, 9-11-1940. *Vide* also "To the Reader", pp. 139-41.

140. LETTER TO AMINA G. QURESHI[1]

November 2, 1940

DAUGHTER AMINA,

Is what Sultana[2] says about you true? Why do you suffer from piles? They should be removed. There is no after-effect if they are removed. Removal may not be necessary. You must consult a doctor. Why should you be so obstinate? Write to me immediately that you will take medical treatment.

Id *mubarak*[3] to all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10777. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasul Qureshi

141. LETTER TO SULTANA QURESHI

November 2, 1940

DAUGHTER SULTANA,

I have your letter. I am glad you wrote to me. Keep writing. You must have grown quite big now. What are you studying these days? What are the others doing? I am also writing to Amina. Pass the letter on to her.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Today is Id-ul-Fitr. Id *mubarak* to all of you.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10761. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasul Qureshi

[1] Also spelt 'Koreishi'
[2] Addressee's daughter
[3] Greetings

142. LETTER TO SAHASRABUDDHE

November 2, 1940

BHAI SAHASRABUDDHE,

I have your letter. I have sent a copy to Bhai Patwardhan. I don't understand why the resolutions passed have not been implemented.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

143. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 3, 1940

CHI. KANTI[1],

I thought you did not write to me out of shyness. Now I see that you do not write out of anger. If that is true, it does not befit you. Have you forgotten what nice letters you used to write? Harilal's letter is enclosed. Write to him. He had a fall but now he is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7361. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

144. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 3, 1940

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I got your letter. My relations with Mysore are strained and, therefore, I do not wish to write to the doctor there. We can get someone not connected with the court, but I do not know any of them at all. Why do you need a doctor, however? Your body itself will tell you. It will be enough if you observe the rules.

[1] Son of Harilal Gandhi

Kanti himself will know some doctor there. You can go to him if necessary. There are bound to be facilities there for taking weight, etc.

Blessings to both of you from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9743. Also C.W. 723. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

145. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI M. PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 3, 1940

BHAI DAHYABHAI,

I got your letter. May you have a prosperous New Year. Do as much service as you can. It is not worth while coming here. There is nothing new. Moreover the Ashram is completely full.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI MANORDAS PATEL
CONGRESS OFFICE
DHOLKA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2712. Courtesy: Dahyabhai M. Patel

146. LETTER TO BHOLANATH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 3, 1940

BHAI BHOLANATH,

I got your letter. I am aware of the difficulties[1] there. I don't know what may happen. Although I am making some arrangements, the results may be meagre. If the people have the strength to resist, they must do so. No one should think that I can counsel compromise with such injustice. Men may break, but they should not bend before brute force.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1311. Also *Gandhi Shatabdi Smarak Granth —Yug Purush*, p. 184

[1] The reference is to the forcible extortions for the war funds; *vide* "Letter to Lord Linlithgow", pp. 120-1 and 151.

147. LETTER TO SARASVATI GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
November 3, 1940

CHI. SURU[1],

What a girl you are! Having joined Kanti you write neither to me nor to Ba. This is not proper. I hope all of you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6180. Also C.W. 3454. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

148. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 3, 1940

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter after many days. Thakkar Bapa had given me a description of your Sind tour. He has already arrived at Sevagram.

The problems of Sind are difficult. Maulana will go there. I am not very hopeful of his being able to do much. Muslims of Sind are in the hands of *pirs*[2]. Many of them are fanatics; even some zamindars are marauders. In such circumstances, nationalist Muslims will not be able to do anything. The fact is, Hindus are rank cowards. They also lack the spirit of sacrifice. Let us see how things can be shaped.

I am contemplating a fast. I cannot say whether I shall undertake it or not. Everything is left to God. But the idea has gripped me. You do not have to worry. It can start only if God wills it. If it does commence, you should consider it a matter for rejoicing. Fasting is the final penance prescribed by

[1] Kantilal Gandhi's wife
[2] Leaders of religious factions

our dharma. It has been considered to be an ultimate weapon in a difficult situation.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7991. Also C.W. 3088. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

149. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 4, 1940

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I do not know whether I am now in order in still carrying my complaints to you. But until you tell me to stop, I propose to send them as before.

This is in continuation of my letter[1] of 22nd October, 1940, regarding the alleged war extortions in Alwar. Here is another wire, dated 28th October, 1940:

> Sepoys beat me unconsciousness. Kept in sun realize war fund Rs. 22 forcibly under Najim order. Pray intervene. Chhajjuram, Baldeogarh, Nizamat Thanaghazi, Alwar State.

I understand that there the Minister and his Secretary are British, lent by the Political Department. The whole administration is said to be under the Political Department. If so, the argument I have advanced in my said letter of 22nd October, 1940, applies with double force. I have a letter telling me that force has been used in several cases for exacting contributions.[2]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* pp. 120-1.

[2] Replying to this on November 8, J. G. Laithwaite, Private Secretary to the Viceroy said: "His Excellency . . . on receiving your letter of 22nd October . . . at once caused enquiries to be made but he has not yet had the result. He is also sending a copy of your present letter to the Political authorities."

150. LETTER TO CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 4, 1940

DEAR CHARU BABU,

Your faith will be rewarded. Never falter.[1]

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8698. Also C.W. 1468. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

151. LETTER TO C. A. AIYAMUTHU

SEVAGRAM,
November 4, 1940

DEAR AIYAMUTHU,

I have your letter[2]. It is enigmatic. Open out the enigma and I shall understand better. In any case I expect you to prove true and all will be well.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

152. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

November 4, 1940

The paper quilt may be tried. It fully serves the purpose. But a blanket may be taken if necessary. In no case should time be wasted. He should take it when it becomes available. Why is he going, if it can easily be had from Barabadi[3]?

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4361

[1] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 121.

[2] Dated October 29, in which the addressee, Secretary of the Tamil Nadu branch of the All-India Spinners' Association, had complained about lack of faith in khadi among the khadi workers

[3] A village near Sevagram

153. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 4, 1940

CHI. SHARMA,

I understand you. Everything is in the hands of God. We, too, are all in His hands. He will make me do what He likes. You have to concentrate on your work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, between pp. 290 and 291

154. LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI

November 4, 1940

CHI. PRABHU DAYAL,

I have your beautiful letter. Of course your name is included in the list [for individual satyagraha]. But at present the situation is quite different. Remain engrossed in your duty.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11691

155. LETTER TO CHOITHRAM GIDWANI[1]

[Before *November 6, 1940*][2]

The sole concern of Congressmen in Sind should be to rid the province of the terror that is raging there. If the Congressmen of Sind cannot do that, they had better retire from public life.

The Hindu, 9-11-1940

[1] & [2] The addressee was President, Sind Provincial Congress Committee. The letter was reported under the date-line "Sukkur, November 6".

156. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

November 6, 1940

MY DEAR ANAND,

Amtul Salaambehn is proceeding to Sind to give her life in preventing the murders that are taking place in Sind. She is to go to some Muslim friend and will appeal to Haji Sir Abdulla Haroon to help her in the attempt.[1] You will help her in every way. Take her to Kikibehn[2] also and do everything you can for her.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 681

157. LETTER TO ABDULLA HAROON RASHEED

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1940

SETH SHRI HAJI ABDULLA HAROON,

Behn Amtul Salaam has been with me for the last ten days. She came to me of her own free will. She is thirty-six. She is the daughter of the late Col. Abdul Majid Khan Saheb, Mir Munshi of Patiala. From her childhood she has been devoted to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. The murders that are taking place in Sind are worrying me no doubt, but Amtul Salaam also is worried. I am, therefore, sending her to you on the strength of our relations during the Khilafat movement. I think you can play a big role in stopping these murders. I am not thinking at the moment of the political aspect. It is a question of humanity. Behn Amtul Salaam does not know anything of politics and is not interested in it. She is a staunch Muslim. She is never irregular in reading the Koran. When she is not ill she observes the Ramadan strictly. She has been silently serving a good many Muslims. She is

[1] *Vide* the following item; also pp. 97-8.
[2] Kikibehn Lalwani, J. B. Kripalani's sister

brave. She intends to lay down her life if these murders are not stopped, and I have fully encouraged her to do so. I hope that you will not misunderstand her or me in this connection. I do not have with me a stauncher or nobler man or woman than she. And when she wishes to sacrifice her life to save the honour of Islam and serve the Hindus, I consider it my duty to give her my blessings.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1219. Also from the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

158. TELEGRAM TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

WARDHA,
November 7, 1940

ANAND HINGORANI
UPPER SIND COLONY
KARACHI SADAR

AMTUSSALAAM ARRIVING THERE NINTH AFTERNOON. RECEIVE.[1]

BAPU

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani

159. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
November 7, 1940

I have been receiving numerous telegrams asking me not to undertake the contemplated fast. Almost all of the telegrams are from friends who are concerned about my health and who think that if I am alive I can still render useful service to the country. There are one or two bitterly criticizing me and telling me that fasting has no place in the politics of the country and that it disturbs the political atmosphere and impairs the efficiency of opposition to the Government in the fight for freedom.

[1] *Vide* also letter to the addressee p. 154, and the preceding item.

I wish to thank both the friends and the critics. The members of the Working Committee and I also had a long discussion over the contemplated fast.

In view of the extension of individual civil disobedience, the idea of the fast naturally remains in abeyance. But I must say nothing that I have heard has dislodged me from the position I have consistently held about the relevancy and propriety of fast in all walks of life including the political. I admit that it is a new weapon. I admit also that the use of that weapon is not open to any but specialists, even as the use of the weapon of civil disobedience is not open to everybody. But if the use of civil disobedience is open only to those who are qualified for it, the use of fasting requires infinitely larger qualifications. I hold that I possess those qualifications. I have had God-given opportunities of training myself in this direction consciously since 1906[1], that means 34 years. But it cannot be taken mechanically. It can only be taken in obedience to the promptings of an unseen power, call it the inner voice, God or whatever other name you like to give to that power. I have mentioned the possibility of fasting because something within me is prompting me to it. I am myself fighting against it. I know that however willing the spirit may be, the flesh is weak. I know that being unable to drink an adequate quantity of water during a fast, it becomes almost unbearable, specially in the initial stages. But however weak the flesh may be, I know that the weakness can be conquered when that unseen power dominates me to the exclusion of every other force. That feeling has not yet come to me and until it does naturally there will be no fast. If it does come, I shall myself feel powerless to listen to the kindly intervention of friends or the anger of fierce critics. Therefore I will beseech all to hold themselves in patience and watch the developments. Of course, it is open to everybody to help me in the crisis through which the country is passing. I have shown the numerous ways in which everybody, friend and critic, can help. I have no desire to make any elaborate statement indicating the ways in which people can help. Having stopped the publication of *Harijan* weeklies I have lost all desire for making public statements. This I am compelled to make in order to thank numerous inquirers, and to allay public anxiety.[2]

[1] Here the newspaper source has "1906 or 1907"; *vide* Vol. XXXIX, p. 168.

[2] What follows is reproduced from *The Hitavada*, according to which Gandhiji was interviewed by the Associated Press of India.

Asked about the future of the *Harijan* weeklies, Gandhiji said:

You will presently see the valedictory issue[1] of *Harijan* announcing their stoppage altogether.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942, File No. 3/42/41-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *The Hitavada*, 10-11-1940

160. INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS

1. Under the extraordinary situation created by the Government, I have, after consultation with the Working Committee, extended the scope of civil disobedience and I propose to select, for the time being, resisters from among the members of the Working Committee, the Congress members in the Central and Provincial Legislatures and the members of the A.I.C.C.

2. Those only will be selected who conform to the conditions I have laid down, who are themselves willing to offer resistance and who are otherwise free to do so.

3. The method of selection is as follows. The members of the Working Committee will send me lists of such members in the first instance and no one will offer civil disobedience whose name I have not passsed. No list should contain names of those who are physically unfit to undergo prison life. I may supplement the lists by making selection out of the names I have already received or may receive hereafter.

4. The names should be sent through messenger to ensure delivery.

5. No one will offer civil disobedience without first informing the District Magistrate of his district, of the time when and the place where and the manner in which it is to be offered.

6. It is advisable not to hold public meetings for the purpose in cities. Meetings may be held in villages. The best and the easiest way is to repeat the following slogan to passers-by as the resister walks on in a particular direction until he is arrested. My preference is for this last method. It is harmless, economical and effective. No argument is necessary. It rivets attention on the single issue of war. The idea is to prevent the movement from lapsing into mass civil disobedience. This is the slogan: "It is wrong to help the British war effort with men or money. The only worthy effort is to resist all war with non-violent resistance."

[1] Dated November 10, with two articles; *vide* pp. 124-6 and 139-41.

The slogan should be translated into the language of the province in which civil disobedience is to be offered.

7. Civil disobedience is to be offered singly. It need not be simultaneous. The whole of this programme should, if possible, be finished in one month.

8. All demonstrations should be avoided when civil disobedience is offered.

9. The ordinary channels of publicity being closed, we must rely upon everybody becoming his own newspaper. Satyagraha is and must be independent of the ordinary channels. We must not feel helpless when these are closed, and they are for the most part even now closed against us. It should be realized too that the repetition of the slogan while walking in one direction reduces the movement to its simplest terms.

10. Secrecy should be avoided. Therefore cyclostyles and the like should be used only when the owners are prepared to lose them. The cheapest multiplying method is to use composition trays. The formula for making them may be got locally. (The A.I.C.C. Office shall try to send it later.) But the infallible way is to multiply the manuscript by many hands copying. This method was extensively used during the last satyagraha.

11. Congress funds need not be kept secretly. If the Government choose to confiscate them, they may do so. In this life-and-death struggle, we must be prepared to lose all funds and other property. We must learn to depend upon the nation financing the movement from day to day. Our wants must, therefore, be reduced to the minimum. No one need expect monetary assistance from the Congress.

12. Our policy should be to avoid classification of prisoners. In no case should any attempt be made to ask either for a higher or a lower class. An A-class prisoner is not bound to take advantage of the special facilities offered to him. Nor need he be ashamed of availing himself of them if thereby he retains his health.

13. Jail rules and discipline should be strictly observed so long as they are not inconsistent with human dignity. No labour should be avoided because it is labour. We should know its dignity.

14. Hartals should be rare. They lose their force if resorted to too often. They are likely to be prohibited. It is better to anticipate the prohibition. Our civil resistance is strictly limited. It is not general.

15. Should the Congress be declared an illegal organization, it should make no difference. I shall conduct the movement so

long as I am left free. In the event of my being arrested, it will become self-acting if the people have imbibed non-violence. Congressmen should remain calm and unperturbed. Each one will act on his or her own initiative. If he or she feels like offering civil disobedience, the way is clear. If he or she is unable, they will devote themselves wholly to one or more items of the thirteenfold constructive programme. I do not propose to appoint a successor whether I am in or out. Those who belong to the Congress constructive organizations may not offer civil disobedience.

16. While the Congress functions as a legal organization, the Provincial Committees, will elect theirP resident if the present one is arrested. The person elected should seek confirmation from me. I shall be unable to work through him if he does not fulfil my conditions.

17. In the provinces where there is no Working Committee Member, the provincial president will put himself in touch with me and send me his recommendations.

18. If I am impelled to fast, I expect Congressmen not to feel paralysed but to be stimulated to more intensive effort in the direction of constructive work. The fast, if it comes, must result in khadi and village manufactures generally becoming universal, untouchability being a thing of the past, and communal unity a settled fact.

19. Congressmen should make it clear in their speech and their action that they are neither pro-Fascists nor pro-Nazis, but that they are opposed either to all war or at least to the war conducted on behalf of British imperialism. They sympathize with the British in their effort to live, but they want also to live themselves as members of a fully free nation. They must not, therefore, be expected to help Britain at the cost of their own liberty. They bear ill will to no nation. They want to play their part in establishing lasting peace in the world.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, November 8, 1940

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942, File No. 3/42/41-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

161. TELEGRAM TO M. M. MALAVIYA[1]

SEVAGRAM,
[On or before *November 9, 1940*][2]

PANDIT MALAVIYAJI
HINDU UNIVERSITY
BENARES

KNOW YOUR LOVE. UNDERSTAND YOUR ANXIETY. AM IN GOD'S HANDS. WILL AVOID IF POSSIBLE.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also *The Hindu*, 10-11-1940

162. TELEGRAM TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

WARDHAGANJ,
November 9, 1940

ANAND HINGORANI
UPPER SIND COLONY
KARACHI SADAR

AMTUSSALAAM REACHING SATURDAY BY AHMEDABAD MAIL. MEET STATION. ACCOMMODATE.

BAPU

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani

[1] & [2] The telegram, reported under the date-line "Benares, November 9", was in reply to the addressee's which according to *The Hindu*. 8-11-1940, read: "The policy pursued by the Government is lamentable. The provocation is great. The country is in a sad plight and the worst time is ahead. Your presence is needed among the people for service which you alone can render. A fast at your age in this crisis will be running away from duty. Please avoid it."

163. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 9, 1940

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got your letter. I have sent copies of the correspondence. You carried my blessings, when you left. Devdas had asked for a message for the meeting, but I could not send it. These days I do not like to send any messages and so in this case also I did not send any.

I believe I will be arrested and that too soon. I am ready of course.

I understand about Brahmadutt[1]. He is at the right place. I see, however, that the experiment cannot be repeated.

I finished Charkha Sangh work today.

Brijkrishna will show you the instructions[2]. Go through them. If you wish to suggest any changes, let me know. I could not write the letter to the Viceroy. Now I will write it[3] tomorrow. I do not wish to keep awake all night.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

164. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 9, 1940

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

I got your letter. Maulana Saheb has been consulted. The fact is, you don't have to carry my letter. And you have gone there[4] in my name, for my work and in the capacity of my

[1] He was the third individual satyagrahi who was arrested on November 7 at Delhi.

[2] *Vide* pp. 157-9.

[3] This was addressed to the Private Secretary to Viceroy; *vide* pp. 162-3.

[4] To Karachi; *vide* "Telegram to Anand T. Hingorani", p. 155.

daughter; what more do you want? You must stay with them if you can. I am happy. The rest from Pyarelal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 435

165. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 10, 1940

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

I am holding a meeting. You were informed on the telephone. I hope things are proceeding smoothly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 436

166. LETTER TO SIR J. G. LAITHWAITE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 11, 1940

DEAR MR. LAITHWAITE,

I have to thank you for your letter of the 2nd instant.

I must not offer any apology for this letter. For, in answer to the Government measures regarding the Press, I have given up making public statements on the struggle between the Government and the Congress, and I want to avoid secrecy regarding my plans. I shall, therefore, continue to send you periodical letters unless His Excellency desires otherwise.

I had hoped to be able to confine civil disobedience to two or three typical cases and supplement them, if necessary and if the call came, with a fast, limited or unlimited. But the members of the Working Committee were very much perturbed over the contemplated fast. Wires also pressed in upon me from all sorts of men and associations prevailing upon me not to fast. I felt that if I was not to fast, I must in some way answer the action of the Government in regard to Pandit Jawaharlal[1]. My

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested on October 31, under the Defence of India Rules, and was sentenced on November 5 to an aggregate term of four years' rigorous imprisonment.

restraint depended upon a measure of reciprocity from the Government as I had hoped in my letter[1] of the 30th September in the following words:

> I shall hug the hope that it will be possible for the Government to work out their policy in the spirit of the Congress position.

But I do not complain. I must not. Only I feel I should explain my change of plan. The changed plan consists in extending civil disobedience to qualified persons selected from particular groups. The groups touched at present are the members of the Working Committee, the Legislators, the members of the A.I.C.C. and a few others. I felt that with the Pandit dealt with in the manner he was, and the almost simultaneous arrest of Shri Achyut Patwardhan, who has proclaimed his faith in non-violence, I should not restrain members of these groups and the like if they satisfied my test as to non-violence and the constructive programme.

I send you herewith a copy also of the instructions[2] I have issued to Congressmen which you will please show to H.E.

There is one other matter to which I wish to draw his attention. My son, Devdas, has sent me notes of the recent interview with certain editors by the Hon. the Home Member. In it the Hon. the Home Member is represented as having said: "Mr. Gandhi's object is to paralyse India's war effort and thus to help Hitler." If Sir Reginald[3] said these words, I can only say that he is wholly wrong. I claim that nothing that I have said can warrant Sir Reginald's extraordinary statement. Indeed I have said repeatedly and so have Pandit Jawaharlal and almost all the numerous Congressmen who have been jailed, that we do not want to help Hitler. I have never said, I wished to paralyse Government's war efforts. But I have said that those of us who do not believe in war as war or in the war on behalf of British imperialism, which they hold the present British effort to be, should be free to propagate their views in a non-violent manner. What will, however, help Hitler and the enemies of Britain is the present utterly irresponsible and repressive policy of the Government including the wholly unwarranted arrests and imprisonments. I had expected that those in high places would observe fairness and not go to the extent of putting into the

[1] To Lord Linlithgow, *vide* pp. 71-3.
[2] *Vide* pp. 157-9.
[3] Sir Reginald Maxwell

mouths of humble workers like me words which they have never uttered.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 7856. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

167. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 11, 1940

CHI. MIRA,

Your good letter has just come in. Your *tapasya* is real and, therefore, the zest must come.[1] And with the zest must come bodily strength. The slivers will be sent when you ask for them. You are right. I may be taken any moment. What does it matter? The Ashram is full to overflowing.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
PALAMPUR
KANGRA DISTRICT
PUNJAB

From the original: C.W. 6464. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10059

168. LETTER TO BARI KHAN

November 11, 1940

MY DEAR BARI[2],

There are times when the last step becomes obligatory. Amtul Salaam is in God's hands.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 639

[1] *Vide* also p. 40.
[2] Brother of Amtussaiaam

169. LETTER TO VASUKAKA JOSHI

November 11, 1940

DEAR VASUKAKA,

Of course, I feel honoured to have your name on my list. I know your energy is superior to mine and your love of the country as great. Will you give me the exact details of your diet? How do you take the lemon juice—not undiluted?[1]

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 7915

170. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

November 11, 1940

CHI. LILA,

I got your two notes. Today Lakshmidas's temperature is 97°. I see him more often. He was taken to the Civil Surgeon, who says, he is progressing saitsfactorily. There is intermittent fever but that need not worry us. His teeth are bad, so the improvement is slow. I will get them extracted as soon as he regains strength. Do not worry in the least.

Please go on studying patiently. Whatever knowledge you acquire will be useful. If I die in the meanwhile, do as your conscience tells you. Since you are getting trained for the Ashram, you should feel fully satisfied.

Mahadev will not come before the day after tomorrow. I am writing this with your pen-holder. If you practise complete self-control and propagate khadi amongst the girls, you may rest assured it will be no mean service.

I will continue to write to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9594. Also C.W. 6566. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Vasukaka Joshi", 18-11-1940.

171. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

November 11, 1940

CHI. PREMA,

Do as Shankarrao advises you.[1] But he will do nothing without consulting me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PREMABEHN KANTAK
ASHRAM
SASVAD
POONA DISTRICT

From a photostat of the Gujarati. G.N. 10414. Also C.W. 6853. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

172. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

November 11, 1940

BHAI MUNSHI,

I am aware of the love you both[2] have for me. If there is a fast, it will only be at the prompting of the inner voice. If you believe this, you will rejoice instead of being pained.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 7655. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

[1] Shankarrao Deo had asked the addressee to be prepared for courting imprisonment as an individual satyagrahi.

[2] The addressee and his wife, Lilavati Munshi

173. LETTER TO MANUBHAI PANCHOLI

SEVAGRAM,
November 11, 1940

CHI. MANUBHAI,

I got your beautiful letter. I had got Vijaya's letter also. I can understand your pain. This should be sufficient to calm both of you: if I go on a fast, it won't be on my own but as prompted by the inner voice. Like Mirabai, I too, am pierced with the dagger of love.

Show this to Nanabhai[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7133. Also C.W. 4625. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

174. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

November 11, 1940

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

I have your letter. May every New Year, as it comes round, increase your spirit of service. Shankerlal[2] should recover completely. I am getting ready for a severe test. God knows what will be the outcome.

Sarladevi[3] must be getting better day by day.

Blessings to all from
BAPU

SHRI ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI
C/O VEDANT COLLEGE
XI MAIN ROAD
MALLESWARAM, BANGALORE

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 11563

[1] Nrisinhprasad Kalidas Bhatt
[2] Shankerlal Banker
[3] Sarladevi Sarabhai

175. LETTER TO SEVAGRAM WORKERS

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
Monday, November 11, 1940

I had suspected Amtul Salaambehn's hand in the disappearance of Radhabehn's letter. Hence it is necessary to say that I would not have chosen her for a very sacred mission like fasting, if the suspicion had been substantiated. The suspicion was not very well-founded. But why should I hide my slightest suspicion from one whom I look upon as my own child? My suspicion had no meaning but this. That too is no more. It will always remain a mystery as to who took that letter. I still do not know about it.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 639 and 6366

176. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 11, 1940

DAUGHTER,

I hope you are getting letters every day. Your news has appeared in the Press. Akbar is well. I have not been able to do anything about Niyamat's daughter. I shall do something. The rest from Pyarelal. I think of you very often. Bari's letter has been received.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 437

[1] For Gandhiji's letter to Bari Khan, *vide* p. 164.

177. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

SEVAGRAM,
November 11, 1940

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Your letter is good. I have made proper arrangements about land, etc. I shall do more if I remain free. Yourself, Parnerkar[1], Chimanlal, Sukhabhai[2], etc., are, of course, remaining out.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1938

178. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

Silence Day, November 11, 1940

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Settle the account of Pratapchandraji at the rate of forty. He is leaving today.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4362

179. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

[Before *November 12, 1940*][3]

DAUGHTER,

I am waiting for your long letter. Jamshedji[4] has written that he is anxious. Pyarelal keeps on writing. Everything is going on well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 440

[1] Jashwant Mahadev Parnerkar

[2] Sukhabhau Chowdhary

[3] From the reference to Gandhiji's "waiting for" news from Amtussalaam; *vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 170.

[4] Mayor, Karachi Corporation

180. LETTER TO NIRMALANANDA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 12, 1940

DEAR NIRMALANANDA[1],

There is no fasting just now. If it comes, no one will be allowed to join me. But what you suggest may be adopted after I am gone. If I survive, I shall issue instructions about the future. You should, therefore, qualify yourself by further discipline and hold yourself in patience.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1393

181. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 12, 1940

DAUGHTER,

Now I get your news from newspapers. May God be your friend.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 438

[1] Earlier known as G. V. Gurjale

182. LETTER TO MADALASA AGRAWAL

November 13, 1940

CHI. MADALASA[1],

I have your letter.

I shall reply to Sardar.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 320

183. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 13, 1940

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. Your letter to Mahadev too has been received. You must have got the news from Mahadev. It does not seem proper that all of you should start courting imprisonment just when he is going round meeting everybody. You may go after Mahadev has visited you. If you think it necessary to consult me too, come over here. Otherwise I will definitely send Mahadev. If he goes there directly[2], he will not be able to carry my final decision. Please, therefore, change the dates a little if necessary. Excellent preparations are being made in Berar too. There is a letter from Patil[3] of Bombay and I am replying to him. I take it that you will read it.

Mahadev will arrive on Friday night. It seems best that Managaldas[4] and Dada should write[5] to the Governor. That is

[1] Second daughter of Jamnalal Bajaj and wife of Shriman Narayan

[2] From Delhi

[3] S. K. Patil, General Secretary of Bombay Provincial Congress Committee for 17 years; became its President in 1946; Central Minister, 1957–63 and 1964–67

[4] Mangaldas Pakvasa, President, Bombay Legislative Council, 1937–47; Solicitor for 30 years

[5] About their intention of participating in individual civil disobedience

the proper course. There is no question of their resigning, but courtesy demands that they should explain their reasons in their letters. I see that you expect me to send a draft. I cannot send it today, as I have other work to attend to. Will it be all right if I send it with Mahadev? I will send it today if possible. Those who are not in the priority list can also go to prison, but I am inclined to send them in after you all have gone. If, however, after studying the local situation you think it necessary that they should go, you may ask them to do so. I insist that Narahari should not be dragged just now. If anyone is upset by his not joining, it would be a matter of pain for me.

Rafi[1] was with me only for half an hour. He only wanted to know the trend of my thinking. Jawaharlal had told all of them that they should quietly carry out my instructions.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
DR. KANUGA'S BUNGALOW
ELLIS BRIDGE
AHMEDABAD

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 244-6

184. ADVICE TO URMILA MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
November 13, 1940

Be a good girl. You are good, but be better still and grow bigger everyday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1609. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

[1] Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Minister in U. P., 1936–39; later Central Minister for Communication and Food

185. LETTER TO MANJULABEHN M. MEHTA

[*November 13, 1940*][1]

Urmila is enjoying herself. Today she brought her autograph book and got everyone to write something in it. I asked her if she was getting everyone to write in it, to which she replied that she approached only those whom she thought to be good people.

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1612. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

186. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 13, 1940

DAUGHTER,

Received your telegram. Also the letter. Yes, your brothers are certainly good. I hope you are keeping good health. You have asked for a telegram. It is not quite necessary now. I had written to Kafi[2] and also to Bari. You will, of course, do good work there. Listen to everyone and talk little. I am well. Lakshmidas is also doing well. Everything about Islam Bi has been done. Lakshmidas has no fever. I do feel your absence.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 439

[1] From the reference to Urmila; *vide* the preceding item.
[2] Addressee's brother

187. DISCUSSION WITH KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA[1]

[November 13, 1940][2]

As I have mentioned in my writings, I have been feeling for a long time that a prolonged fast is yet to be my lot. The war that is raging, the country's slavery and the importance for the whole world of India attaining its independence through non-violence are the considerations that make this supreme sacrifice on my part inevitable. At the same time I am a little nervous at the prospect. I wish I could see my way. I am not trying to move towards the fast. I am being drawn towards it.

In a way it is good. For, the time I am taking to prepare myself inwardly for the step is also preparing the masses and all of you for it. Maybe people will after a time so much come to expect it that they may begin to ask why I do not start the fast.

I cannot yet tell under what conditions the fast will come. If it comes while I am still out of jail, I shall tell you what you ought to do and, so long as I keep the strength, I shall continue to give you instructions. It may be that before starting the fast I shall issue a statement. But it is also possible that the Government may arrest me and the fast may come while I am in jail. In that eventuality I shall neither be able to issue a statement nor give you instructions. And I have already said that I am not going to appoint a successor. So you will all have to act as you think best. And, if someone then emerges as a guide, he will do so on his own merits.

I may have to fast in jail. But from this you should not conclude that I have already decided on it. Even if I should be in jail, I would gladly serve my term if the situation outside should be promising of a solution.

So far as I can see, the contemplated fast can only be conditional. It will not be a fast unto death. It will be for the accomplishment of a purpose. Spiritually it cannot be considered of the highest order. Still the purpose sought to be accomplished is sufficiently pure to deserve sacrifice of life. If the purpose is accomplished, the fast can be terminated. So this will be striving—a

[1]&[2] Reporting a summary of the discussion in his circular letter dated November 14, 1940, to Provincial Committees of Gandhi Seva Sangh, Kishorelal Mashruwala said that it took place on the "previous day".

sort of *tapasya*—in the form of a fast, to attain a specific goal.

But although the fast will be a conditional one, seeing the present situation and the present attitude of the British, it is not likely that the Government will change their policy to save my life. Saving their own lives has become so important to them that they will not hesitate to sacrifice fifty Gandhis for it. At the same time they will also not have the wisdom to take to non-violence and self-purification for the solution of the problem. So they will let me make the sacrifice, not from anger but because they will be helpless.

I have also received a suggestion that before I undertake the fast or while I am on fast, I should let a few other co-workers share in the sacrifice. So long as I am alive it will not be a wise proceeding. The purpose of this fast is not of merely local importance. It has significance not only for the whole of India, but for the whole world. The sacrifice here of fifty humble persons cannot carry as much weight as the sacrifice of one world-famous figure. And if the problem gets solved through such a sacrifice, the sole sacrifice, namely, of myself will be enough. What you should do during my fast or after it, if it should end in my death, is a matter to be considered.

The constructive programme to be sure comprises thirteen different activities. It can be further enlarged. But there are three items in it that are the most important. They are pregnant with revolutionary possibilities. They are: khadi, eradication of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity. The MacDonald Award and 'Pakistan' are nothing but projections of our mental attitude of treating the Harijans and Muslims as separate from us. Remember that the separation is not of their asking. It is what we have chosen to give them, what we forced them to ask for. Thus the unity between the caste Hindus and outcaste Hindus, and that between Hindus and Muslims and khadi represent a revolution in our own lives. And in order to bring about this revolution you should devote all your energies and if necessary you should be prepared to lay down your lives in the manner of Fulsingh Bhagat and Amtul Salaam.

At the time when civil disobedience is going on, those who are engaged in constructive work, and do not, therefore, want to go to jail, will continue with the work in hand. But, when other workers are insisting on a programme of jail-going, it will not be right for you to initiate a vigorous programme of constructive work. The mood among the people today is for jail-going. We should, therefore, concentrate on this.

If nevertheless a situation arises when all the people who want to go to jail have been arrested or I happen to be fasting or some local issue comes up, such as the one that has come up in Sind, then you will have to look after your work and your place. Then you should launch an agitation and die if need be and do as your inner voice prompts you. If after I am no more, your inner voice prompts you to initiate the tradition of fasting, you may do so. But I do not say that it will be necessary.

You may be called upon to lay down your lives in yet another set of conditions. It is possible that the British or if they are defeated the occupation forces, may resort to repression to cow down people. Even State machinery can be destroyed. Such destruction to some extent may make things easier for them. But the masses by and large will not be so treated. They will be subjected to repression. For example, if the countryside does not capitulate to the occupation forces on their terms, villages may be surrounded, armed guards could be placed at public wells to keep the public away from them, crops may be destroyed and people may thus be exposed to hunger and thirst. The people must not submit. We shall have to give them courage; we shall have to undergo hunger and thirst to generate in the people the strength to bear these hardships and die rather than to collaborate with the occupation forces.

If occasion can be found for me to confer with the co-workers who have the same mission, I shall be happy. But today I do not wish to plan for any such contingency.[1]

From Hindi: C.W. 10745. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

188. MESSAGE TO STUDENTS

WARDHA,
November 14, 1940

I have received several letters from students in Madras and the United Provinces regarding their demonstration over Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's arrest and imprisonment, and the threatened reprisals by the Governments concerned. The students now desire to have a strike of protest and ask for my advice. When the whole world hangs its head in shame over the imprisonment of one of India's noblest and bravest sons, it is no wonder that the student

[1] At the end of the circular Mashruwala suggested that a list of all the workers who held similar views should be made and sent to the Provincial Committees of the Gandhi Seva Sangh.

world in India is shaken to its roots. Whilst, therefore, my sympathy is wholly with them, I must adhere to the view that the students were wrong in their walk-out as a mark of their resentment over Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's imprisonment. The Governments of the provinces are more than wrong in their threats of reprisals. The students will, however, do well not to resort to the contemplated strike of protest. If they desire my advice, they should send an authorized representative who is in full possession of the facts, of which I have but a very superficial knowledge. I shall gladly give my guidance for what it may be worth. They know how much I would value their whole-hearted co-operation in the struggle I am endeavouring to lead. In any case they will spoil their own and damage the national cause by ill-conceived and hasty action.[1]

The Hindustan Times, 15-11-1940

189. TELEGRAM TO BALRAM SINGH SRIVASTAVA[2]

SEVAGRAM,
November 14, 1940

BALRAM SINGH SRIVASTAVA
STUDENTS' FEDERATION
LUCKNOW

JUST READ LETTER. HAD ADVISED[3] AGAINST STUDENTS' STRIKES. MATTER DELICATE. NO HASTY STRIKE FOR EVEN DEMONSTRATION. IF YOU HAVE STUDENTS' SPECIFIC AUTHORITY YOU SHOULD COME. AM PREPARED ADVISE AND GUIDE.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* also the following item.

[2] In reply to the addressee's letter which sought Gandhiji's advice on the U.P. Governor's threat to rusticate the students who had associated themselves with the U.P. Provincial Students' Association, which staged a strike in protest against Jawaharlal Nehru's arrest.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

190. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

SEVAGRAM
November 14, 1940

CHI. KANCHAN,

I had your letter. I hope you are making progress as expected. Has the itching stopped? Write to me in detail.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8277. Also C.W. 7110. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

191. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 14, 1940

DAUGHTER,

I now get reports about you from newspapers. Your letters reach me afterwards. You have gone there at the right hour.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 441

192. LETTER TO PATWARDHAN

November 14, 1940

BHAI PATWARDHAN,

I couldn't reply earlier. At present I cannot positively say that the money belongs to the school. More clarification is required before giving an opinion. That is why I am constantly keeping in touch through letters. My main worry is that the money should be safe and used only for a good purpose. My other worry is that all of you should be what you were before. Both these things need help from all of you.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

193. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 15, 1940

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I had a chat with Sailendra. He says, it is no use bringing Vinapani[1] here. A suitable match is easily available there. It may be well to consider the question. What does she say herself? Don't you think that I have anyone ready? I hope your wife is doing well. If you decide on bringing Vina, you should borrow Rs. 15 from Satis Babu. I shall repay it.

BAPU

AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE
17 JHAMA POOKER LANE
CALCUTTA
(BENGAL)

From a photostat: C.W. 1453. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

194. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

November 15, 1940

DAUGHTER,

Your article in the *Sind Observer* is beside me. I will read it when I have time. God is with you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 442

[1] Addressee's daughter, now Vinabehn K. Patel

195. *LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL*

November 15, 1940

CHI. AMALA,

I got your letter. I can understand your anger. You can call yourself my enemy, but you cannot be one. If Hitlerism is to be destroyed, it will be destroyed only through non-violence, and in no other way. Yes, one of the letters addressed to you came back because of a mistake.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. MARGARETE SPIEGEL
3 WODEHOUSE ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original: Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

196. *TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM*

WARDHAGANJ,
November 16, 1940

AMTUSSALAAM
C/O ANAND HINGORANI
UPPER SIND COLONY
KARACHI SADAR

AM STOPPING CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE SIND. YOUR LETTER QUITE GOOD. WRITING REPLY. LOVE.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 443

[1] Presumably, the reference is to the letter dated October 17; *vide* p. 111.

197. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 16, 1940

DAUGHTER,

I got your letter. Also the telegram. I have replied to the telegram. I read every word of all your letters. Is not the situation different now? Your letter is beautiful. Your appeal, too, is very good. You are handling the situation well. We shall think later about the timing and length of the fast. There is no hurry. Persist with your mission as long as that is possible. When nothing else can be done, you will certainly undertake a fast. What you say about the Hindus is correct. Let us see. You have grasped the problem aright and are acting courageously.

You alone will write to Pir Saheb[1]. If a rejoinder has to be issued subsequently, I shall do it. You can send for Gulzar Khan[2] or Qureshi[3], if you need any help.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 444

198. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 16, 1940

CHI. ANAND,

Do work, taking care of your health. Amtussalaam gets full help from both of you. Really, God is the sole protector for her and all of us.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani

[1] Pir of Bharchundi
[2] A Congress worker of Ahmedabad
[3] Ghulam Rasul Qureshi

199. *NOTE TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
[Before *November 17, 1940*][1]

The purpose of keeping Rajkumari here is that when all, including myself, have gone to jail, she will remain outside and look after routine matters. She has the capacity for it. She will remain here. If the Government starts shooting, she should face it and be prepared to die. I believe that she has the courage. Even if she does not, there is nothing to lose.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 243

200. *NOTE FOR VALLABHBHAI PATEL*

[After *November 17, 1940*][2]

Please tell Vallabhbhai that I am becoming more and more firm in my opposition to the Government. For the present only those whom I have chosen may go to jail. If they do not arrest me, I will send all the rest, as many of them as the Government wants. If they arrest me, the whole thing will be in God's hands.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 243

[1]&[2] The addressee was arrested on November 17, 1940.

201. LETTER TO VASUKAKA JOSHI

November 18, 1940

DEAR VASUKAKA,

Your letter is interesting. How long have you been on this diet? What is the quantity of lemon-juice, the variety of vegetables and their weight and the weight of baked sweet potato? Sweet potatoes vary in size.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7916

202. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 18, 1940

BHAI VAIDYA,

Though I wanted to write to you, I could not manage it. Kakubhai[2] has written a long letter about you. If you can devote yourself to khadi work and get absorbed in it, I would not ask you to join the civil disobedience just now. If you wish to come over and stay here for some time, you may do so. Whether the food, climate, etc., will suit you remains to be seen. Do as you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5741

[1] *Vide* also p. 165.
[2] Purushottam K. Jerajani

203. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

SEVAGRAM,
November 18, 1940

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

I have your letter. Accordingly I have written to Bhai Vaidya. Pass it on to him if you think fit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10849. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

204. LETTER TO GHULAM RASUL QURESHI

November 18, 1940

CHI. QURESHI,

I have your beautiful letter. Who knows what Islam says? It has nowhere advocated suicide. Amtul Salaam will do as God ordains. I understand about the Muslim League. It is our job to win them over also. Many may have to die before we achieve our non-violent victory. If you cultivate sincere love, there will be work here itself [without going to jail]. Get Amina operated upon. You or Gulzar Khan may have to help Amtul Salaam, if she needs help. Of course I have written[1] [to her] to get help from Karachi.

BHAI GHULAM RASUL QURESHI
HARIJAN ASHRAM
SABARMATI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10766. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasul Qureshi

[1] *Vide* p. 181.

205. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
November 18, 1940

CHI. KANCHAN,

I got your letter after a long time. You write nothing about your health. How are you? We can think of satyagraha only after you are fully restored. There is no hurry. The struggle is a long one. Keep writing to me. The place remains as crowded as before. I think it will be less after three days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8276. Also C.W. 7111. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

206. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 18, 1940

DAUGHTER,

I have your letter. Everything will be sent afterwards to Anand. I have heard some fulminations from the Press. Whatever we do, will be done in the name of God alone. We are not doing anything to please anyone else. If the Hindus go berserk, we shall think again. Whatever you do, you should do only after consulting Maulana Saheb. When he leaves the place, then it will be a different thing. It was good that you went to Hatim's[1] place. You shall, of course, keep silent. You should not be afraid of abuses. I shall certainly go to the telephone, but I do not know whether I shall be able to hear. Qureshi's letter is enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 447

[1] Hatim Alvi, a nationalist Muslim

207. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 18, 1940

DEAR SISTER,

I got your letter. The fast should cause no anxiety. If I undertake it, God alone will make me do so. Hence the fruit is bound to be wholesome. At present the question does not arise.

We shall think about your courting imprisonment. The conference[1] work has got to be done. The struggle is likely to be a long one. Hence it would be better if you join late.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7992. Also C.W. 3089. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

208. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 20, 1940

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter. Yes, all the Puranas are worth reading. They are real history of all time. I am glad you are having more and more peace.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
PALAMPUR
KANGRA DISTRICT
PUNJAB

From the original: C.W. 6465. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10060

[1] Presumably, the reference is to the All-India Women's Conference which was to be held at Bangalore from December 27 under the presidency of the addressee.

209. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 20, 1940

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. There is certainly anger in your letter. There is pain in it, too. You go from one extreme to another. There was a time when I was your all-in-all. How is it possible that I have changed so much, as you think I have? When you were angry with Devdas and did not write to him, I used to plead with you against such anger. Once you have formed an opinion, you altogether lose the power to see the other side. But what is the use of arguing with you about such matters? Suffice it to say that I am the same as I have ever been to you. You yourself will grant it one day.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7362. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

210. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

November 21, 1940

CHI. BAPA,

I have your two letters.

Write to Dr. Subbarayan's wife[1]. She will join [individual civil disobedience]. Consider the changes suggested by me in the rules, and incorporate such of them as you think proper. There is no need to specify Hindu Harijans. Harijans are Hindus. We need an institution for the backward classes. Our purpose will be served if the manager of the institution is an efficient man. It does not seem possible to resume *Harijan* in the near future.

Vinoba has trained a man for leprosy work. He is like a *rishi*. We had Rajabali's money. Out of it we have kept aside Rs. 25,000. This is the first project of this kind undertaken by Indians.

[1] Radha Subbarayan

Phooke[n] had started one, but it was meant for show. This one is filled with great *tapascharya*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1186

211. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

[Before *November 21, 1940*][1]

DAUGHTER,

I have your letter. I do not approve of your *roza*[2]. But I shall not interfere from this distance. You will not undertake a fast without my permission. You must be guided by Maulana Saheb as long as he is there. While you are still busy meeting people, there is no occasion for undertaking a fast. The fact that you suffer from asthma indicates that God does not approve of your *rozas*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 445

212. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 21, 1940

DAUGHTER,

I got your letter. Also the telegram. I am still considering the matter of *rozas*. As long as there is work to do, one should preserve one's health. But I shall not instruct you from here. Now you are able to speak something and the Muslims listen to you. Hindus will, of course, listen. Hence devote yourself to propaganda work for the present. When all the work is over, we shall think what should be done next. Do not let your health get worse.

Baqui[3] has written that there was some important news about you in the papers. He may have sent the cutting to you also. I sent him a long reply.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 450

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] Dawn-to-dusk fast during Ramzan month observed by devout Muslims
[3] Addressee's brother

213. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 22, 1940

MY DEAR MAHMUD,

Your letter. Don't think of civil disobedience. The first thing is to get well. You must have a radical cure. Shaukat showed me a scheme which bore your name. But your denial is quite enough for me. He showed me also copy of the draft I gave you. Brelvi[1] mentioned the fast and so your name was connected with it as you were with him. But why worry about these things?

Love.

BAPU

DR. SYED MAHMUD, M.L.A.
CHHAPRA
BIHAR

From a photostat: G.N. 5081

214. DISCUSSION WITH TAI CHI-TAO[2]

[*November 22/23, 1940*][3]

TAI CHI-TAO: We are passing through difficult times. I want to know how we can get through our difficulty successfully. Victory is not enough; future peaceful relations between nations must also be established.

The President, who is of a deeply religious temperament and had evinced a great interest in the constructive activities here and in Sethji's temple at Wardha, had a rosary of beads in his hand.

[1] S. A. Brelvi, Editor, *The Bombay Chronicle*

[2] The discussion is extracted from a statement by Mahadev Desai who explained that the goodwill mission of Tai Chi-Tao, President of Examination of Yuan of Chinese Government, was in return for Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to China in 1939. The statement said that the visiting President had brought special message for Gandhiji from Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuomintang. *Vide* also "Letter to Chiang Kai-Shek", 26-11-1940.

[3] Mahadev Desai says that Tai Chi-Tao, his Secretary and others were in Wardha on November 22 and 23 as guests of Jamnalal Bajaj, who had come from Bombay specially for the occasion.

Gandhiji, after making inquiries about his health begged to introduce him to the spinning-wheel which, he said, was among the latest inventions, and plied the wheel as he answered the President's question.

GANDHIJI: Just as you are engaged in a terrific life-and-death struggle, so are we. Yours is an ancient country and so is ours and although yours is a much bigger country than ours, ours is not by any means a small country and there is much in common between you and us. Speaking personally, I may inform you that I was in touch with the Chinese colony in Johannesburg and gave them legal advice. They were a colony of 1,200 and I came in closest touch with everyone of them and so the Chinese are not strangers to me by any means. Although you are engaged in a life-and-death struggle and so are we, the means we employ for regaining our freedom are different from the means you employ for retaining your freedom. This does not mean that I want to criticize the means you have adopted. The remedy you employ in self-defence is an age-old one. I am employing a remedy which is unknown to the world on the political field. But since you have come all the way from China merely to reciprocate the good wishes that Pandit Jawaharlal carried there, the only service I can render in my humble way is to put forward before you and, through you, the Generalissimo, the new remedy I am applying. I found it in South Africa in 1906, when all my resources were exhausted, in order to combat difficulties which might have meant the death of the Indian community in the Transvaal if we had not found this remedy. And since 1920, we have applied this remedy more or less successfully, perhaps with more success than otherwise, till at last the Congress has become a powerful body, and in a nutshell, it is this, viz., to be prepared to die as bravely as the bravest Chinese soldier, but without trying to kill your opponent or do the slightest harm to him, whether in offence or self-defence. If we succeed here in instilling into the mass mind bravery to die without killing, I think that not only shall we have regained our liberty without violence but we shall have presented to the world a remedy to do away with all wars. If I have succeeded in giving you the kernel of the movement, I would ask you to watch this movement with interest and bless it on behalf of China. More I cannot say until we have regained our liberty with these absolutely peaceful means.

You will see that it is not without a purpose that I have taken up the wheel at the present moment when, ordinarily speaking, it would be discourtesy to a guest to keep spinning when he comes. But I have taken it up both to demonstrate the process and to

show you how, externally speaking, I derive all the power of peace from the spinning-wheel. You will have noticed that the spinning-wheel finds a central place in our national flag, and it is the one thing which establishes a living relation and identification with the masses of India.

President Tai Chi-Tao said that he was greatly inspired by the message. He had heard a great deal from newspapers about Gandhiji's peaceful method and all it had accomplished, but he was grateful to hear it from his lips. . . .

TAI CHI-TAO: We had no alternative. We had to resist violent aggression after a long waiting. But now we have a movement to make our country self-sufficient; in our villages, the spinning-wheel has returned. Nearly ninety per cent of our houses have their wheels, not so modern as yours, but old-fashioned. We have been thus compelled by necessity to revive our national village industry. All the big factories have been destroyed and bombed and some have moved to the interior and so we have to depend more or less on the spinning-wheel which cannot be bombed. Your spinning-wheel gives me new inspiration.

Gandhiji now gave a demonstration on the latest model, the Dhanush *Takli*, and offered both the wheels as presents to President Tai Chi-Tao. But he had already purchased the wheels in the morning. As he rose to take leave, His Excellency said:

I pray that, for the welfare of India and China and for the whole of humanity, you may have a long life, and I pray, on behalf of all members of the Kuomintang Party, for your welfare and for the welfare of your family.

G (Laughing). My family is a family of 350 millions.

T. All mankind.

G. Yes, if I can make good my claim for 350 millions, I will advance the other claim. Please carry my good wishes to the Generalissimo, to the Madame, his staff and all who are putting up a brave fight in self-defence and I wish you early peace.

As Gandhiji went out of the hut to bid the President farewell, the latter, having a full view of him standing in broad daylight remarked:

T. Your health is extraordinarily good.

G (Smiling). Yes, the charkha keeps me healthy and then I do not carry any cares on my head. I have cast them on the broad shoulders of God.

The Hindu, 26-11-1940

215. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

[Before *November 23, 1940*][1]

Those who are sickly and those who cherish the hope of a speedy compromise should not go to jail.

The Hindustan Times, 24-11-1940

216. LETTER TO TARABEHN N. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM,
[Before *November 23, 1940*][2]

CHI. TARA,

I got your letter. You are ruining your health. You will not do justice to Prithvi Singh either, if you do not make the needed changes in your diet. Stay here under Dr. Das's supervision or under that of the doctor at Poona. Do anything you like, but resolve to get well. It will do you no good to try anything after your health has completely broken down.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7531. Also C.W. 5007. Courtesy: Kanubhai N. Mashruwala

[1] The letter was reported under the date-line "Ahmedabad, November 23".

[2] From the reference to the addressee's health in this and the letter dated November 23, *vide* p. 193.

217. TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM

WARDHAGANJ,
November 23, 1940

BIBI AMTUSSALAAM
CARE HATIM ALVI SAHEB
GARDEN ROAD
KARACHI

RECEIVED TWO LETTERS TELEGRAM. MOVE CAUTIOUSLY. NO HURRY ABOUT FASTING.[1] YOUR PRESENCE IS HAVING EFFECT. WHILE MAULANA THERE BE GUIDED BY HIM. WHY WANT QURESHI AND ZOHRA? HOPE KEEPING WELL. LOVE.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 451

218. LETTER TO TARABEHN N. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM,
November 23, 1940

CHI. TARA[2],

I vote for Sevagram. I have not accepted defeat. You know my attachment. I have good facilities here to cure you. I will send for you when you are ready. I am ready and all the arrangements made.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7530. Also C.W. 5006. Courtesy: Kanubhai N. Mashruwala

[1] *Vide* also letters to the addressee, pp. 181, 188 and 194-5.
[2] Also called Tari, sister of Sushila Gandhi

219. *INTERVIEW TO M. L. SHAH*[1]

[Before *November 24, 1940*][2]

Gandhiji agreed with me that students should have freedom to arrange meetings and take out processions in a peaceful and orderly manner to express their resentment against repressive measures.

Regarding political strikes, such as those on the arrest of national leaders, Gandhiji advised that students should create an atmosphere which may win the sympathies of the educational authorities, who might themselves close the institutions.

Gandhiji felt sorry when he heard about forced war contributions from students, and advised the students to resist all such actions. He appreciated the potentialities of the students, and if he succeeded in getting their support to his constructive programme, he was confident that the students would form the vanguard of the struggle.[3]

The Hindustan Times 25-11-1940

220. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 24, 1940

DAUGHTER,

I was busy with so many things yesterday that I could not write to you.

I have read your thirty-page letter from beginning to end. All letters are preserved. During the telephone talk today I gave answers according to my lights. I said that Qureshi and Zohra might not be sent now. The fast should not be undertaken in a hurry. Everything has to be done in consultation with the

[1] The interview appeared as "stated by Mr. M. L. Shah, General Secretary of the All-India Students' Federation, who recently met Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha and explained to him the attitude of the authorities towards the student movement".

[2] Reported under the date-line "Lucknow, November 24"

[3] The report concluded with M. L. Shah's appeal to the students "to co-operate with him to fulfil the assurance which he has given 'to the noblest and greatest friend of the student community' by being peaceful in all that they did and said".

Maulana. I shall send Qureshi and Zohra when the need arises. Have you done anything about funds? I shall send money when needed. Write to me how much you want and what for. You have not to interfere in other matters. Your job is to clear the atmosphere and, if bloodshed cannot be stopped, to undertake a fast. Whether the prisoners are released or not is a separate issue. But your plain duty is to observe everything and do my bidding. Your mission is to bring peace to all people there. Close your ears to all political talk.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 452

221. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
November 25, 1940

DEAR ANAND,

Your letters are helpful. Continue. How is Jairamdas? How about your ears? How about Vidya?

BAPU

SHRI ANAND T. HINGORANI
UPPER SIND COLONY
KARACHI SADAR

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani

222. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEVAGRAM,
November 25, 1940

CHI. PREMA,

I got your letter and also saw your name in the list[1]. God will protect you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10415. Also C.W. 6854. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] Of persons for offering individual civil disobedience

223. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

November 25, 1940

CHI. VIJAYA,

You kept me waiting for a long time. Only today I got your letter. All that I want is that you should take care of your health. Then you may stay anywhere you like. Flood and ebb alternate here. Amtul Salaam is in Sind. She is doing good work there. Pyarelal has gone to Delhi to see his mother. Then he will go on a tour. Annapurna is here. As Bachu[1] is to be operated upon for tonsils in Delhi, Manojna[2] has gone there today.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VIJAYABEHN
DAKSHINAMURTI GRAMSHALA
AMBLA, *via* SONAGADH
KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7134. Also C.W. 4626. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

224. LETTER TO GHULAM RASUL QURESHI

November 25, 1940

CHI. QURESHI,

I am glad your letter is quite frank. I will not send either you or Gulzar Khan. You cannot go leaving the work there unfinished. I shall explain things to Amtul Salaam.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10767. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasul Qureshi

[1] Nirmala Desai, step-sister of Mahadev Desai
[2] Wife of Krishnadas Gandhi, Chhaganlal Gandhi's son

225. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 25, 1940

DAUGHTER,

I got your letter. You are in too great a hurry. I shall send both Akbar and Hanif[1], if they are of any use to you. You have not gone there for doing khadi work. It is good if it appeals to the poor Muslims. But first you should look with your eyes open and find out who the poor are and how they live. You have only one mission: to stop the bloodshed. If you get involved in the political controversies between Hindus and Muslims, rest assured that your mission will fail. You have seen Anand's letters, also those of Jamshedji. Have differences cropped up between you and these people? I shall get nervous if you develop disagreements with such people. What does Hatim say? In any case, try and understand Maulana Saheb's view. He will come here. We are not going to do anything against his wishes.

Pyarelal will now come on Thursday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 453

226. MESSAGE TO BENGAL CONGRESSMEN[2]

[Before *November 26, 1940*][3]

I expect great things from Bengal.[4] My expectations can only be realized if all parties sink their differences and work for the common cause.

The Hitavada, 29-11-1940

[1] A khadi worker of Punjab

[2] & [3] The message, "brought by Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, who lately went to Wardha to see Mahatma Gandhi", was reported under the date-line "Calcutta, November 26"

[4] The reference is to the launching of satyagraha in Bengal.

227. *LETTER TO CHIANG KAI-SHEK*

November 26, 1940

DEAR GENERALISSIMO,

I am deeply grateful to you for your affectionate letter received through the goodwill mission[1] you have so thoughtfully sent. Shri Tai Chi-Tao has given me, too, your verbal message. My only regret is that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will not be able to receive the members of the mission when they reach Allahabad.

I have no doubt that the mission has drawn our countries close together.

May your deliverance take place sooner than expected.

With revered good wishes for you, your good wife and your nation.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 10410. Courtesy: Pyarelal

228. *TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM*

WARDHAGANJ,
November 27, 1940

AMTUSSALAAM
CARE JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
HYDERABAD (SIND)

TELEGRAM NOT YET RECEIVED. YOU MUST NOT DO THINGS PROHIBITED BY MAULANA. AM CONFERRING WITH HIM. AWAIT INSTRUCTIONS. REMAIN SILENT QUIET WITHOUT WORRY.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 454

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 189.

229. *TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM*

WARDHAGANJ,
November 27, 1940

AMTUSSALAAM
CARE JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
HYDERABAD (SIND)

RECEIVED MAULANA'S MESSAGE PEREMPTORILY ADIVISING ME RECALL YOU. UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES COME IMMEDIATELY. LOVE.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 455

230. *LETTER TO SIR J. G. LAITHWAITE*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 27, 1940

DEAR MR. LAITHWAITE,

I would like you to place this before His Excellency and the contents to be telegraphed, if possible, to the Secretary of State for India or to be brought to his notice in such manner as His Excellency may wish.

The Secretary of State is reported by the Press as follows:[1]

> The Congress under Mr. Gandhi's leadership has decided to express its dissatisfaction by a campaign of defiance of law by instalments. What they (my colleagues) have demanded is the right to urge Indians not to recruit, not to work in munition factories or to contribute voluntary contributions to the War Committee.

While it is not possible in theory to deny the truth of the statement, Mr. Amery should have known that he was giving his uninformed audience a view which was not warranted by the following from my Press statement of October 15[2], 1940:

> I know that India has not one mind. There is a part of India that is war-minded and will learn the art of war through helping the

[1] He was speaking in the House of Commons on November 20.
[2] The source, however, has "14"; *vide* p. 106.

British. The Congress has no desire, therefore, to surround ammunition factories or barracks and prevent people from doing what they like.

And add to the above the following slogan which I have standardized, and on the strength of which civil resisters are being imprisoned: "It is wrong to help the British war effort with either men or money. The only worthy effort is to resist all war by non-violent resistance."

It is wholly wrong to say that we have demanded the right to urge voluntary contributors not to pay voluntary contributions. The truth is that undue pressure and even force is being used on behalf of the British Government to extract money from unwilling parties who in several cases are even too poor to pay.

Then I take the following from the Secretary of State's speech about Pandit Nehru:

> Vinoba Bhave was to have been followed by Pandit Nehru who, however, outstripped Mr. Gandhi both in time and I believe in the character of the speeches he made. The speeches were violent and deliberately provocative and were deliberately aimed at hampering the war effort and did so in effect as well as in intention. In any case Pandit Nehru's sentence was a matter not for the executive but for the law. If the sentence is judged by him to be excessive, he has the right to appeal.

I regard this as a cruel libel uttered against a man who has been put behind prison bars. There is nothing in his speeches having the slightest odour of violence. I must deny that Pandit Nehru outstripped me. Indeed the Provincial Government outstripped me. They knew that he had come to me to fix up when, where and how he was to offer civil disobedience. In my letter[1] of October 30, 1940, I had informed His Excellency that the Pandit was the next to offer civil disobedience and that, as soon as the date and place were finally fixed, I would inform him. And yet before he could arrange affairs, his journey was interrupted and he was taken to Gorakhpur for trial. It is worse than a cruel mockery to suggest against the charge of a vindictive sentence that Pandit Nehru could have appealed against the sentence, if he had so chosen. The Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State surely knew that Pandit Nehru would not appeal against the sentence.

I write this because I feel grieved that one who has the charge of the affairs of a sub-continent should have dealt with friendly opponents in a manner ill befitting his charge. British statesmen seem to go out of their way to court the doubtful friendship of powers

[1] *Vide* p. 139.

who have no friendly feeling for Britian and to lose no opportunity of estranging those who would gladly befriend them.

I have written all this in sorrow, not in anger, certainly not for publication.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 7857. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

231. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1940

CHI. LILI,

There is no need to go right up to the Dean for permission to have a mosquito-net. You should quietly submit to the rules unless violation of a moral principle is involved.

You did well in reporting the conversation with the Dean. This shows that it is your duty to pass all your examinations diligently.

Forget Sevagram and get engrossed in your studies. Think about the fast only when it starts. Now your path is straight and that itself is your guideline. You must not look this way or that.

You sign your letters as 'obediently'. You have already got my orders.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9598. Also C.W. 6570. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

[1] The addressee's reply dated November 30, read: "His excellency asks me to acknowledge with many thanks your letter of 27th November, and to say that he is at once communicating it to the Secretary of State."

232. *TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD*[1]

[After *November 27, 1940*][2]

BIHAR ACCOUNTS ARE DISTURBING. WHY DOES A PROVINCE THAT WAS THE BEST CAUSE ANXIETY? THERE SHOULD BE NO DEMONSTRATION. AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE INFORMED AND NOT THE PUBLIC OF IMPENDING RESISTANCE.

The Hindu, 4-12-1940

233. *TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM*

WARDHAGANJ,
November 28, 1940

AMTUSSALAAM
CARE JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
HYDERABAD (SIND)

RECEIVED NOW LONG TELEGRAM. IMPOSSIBLE MY GOING. RETURN IMMEDIATELY SO AS BE HERE WHEN MAULANA COMES. AM WELL NOW.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 456

[1] & [2] The telegram was quoted by the addressee, in the course of a statement, along with his reply which read: "Babu Sri Krishna Sinha's resistance was marred by an accident on the 27th." In his *Autobiography*, p. 515, the addressee recalls: "In Bihar, as I had been advised against joining the movement because of my ill-health, the onus of inaugurating the satyagraha fell on Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha. It was decided that, on the first day, Dr. Sinha would offer satyagraha at the Bankipore maidan . . . when Dr. Sinha came to the maidan . . . there . . . was a noisy demonstration which did not cease till he had been arrested and taken to jail."

234. LETTER TO ABDUL WADUD SARHADI[1]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 28, 1940

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Opinions differ in your province itself. Everyone is left to his own free choice whether to offer civil disobedience or not. But if he does, he has to conform to conditions laid down, one of which is belief in Hindu-Muslim unity. In the circumstances no one should have anything to say against civil disobedience.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

235. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
November 29, 1940

My attention has been drawn to some paragraphs appearing in the Press, purporting to give my opinion about the questions agitating the students. I have not read all that has appeared in the Press, if only because I want to conserve my energy, on which of late I have been obliged to put an unduly heavy strain.

My opinion is firm.[2] No provocation should be allowed to justify political strikes by students unless they have made up their mind once for all to abandon their college or school studies. Unlike as in free countries, our educational institutions are controlled by the rulers from whom the nation is struggling to free itself. Self-suppression is, therefore, the price the students must pay for receiving the education evolved and controlled by the rulers. They cannot have the cake and eat it, too. If they want the education

[1] The addressee, President, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Sarhad, in his letter dated November 23 to Gandhiji, had disapproved of the Civil Disobedience Movement and suggested unity between Congress and Muslim League as a worthy effort.

[2] *Vide* also pp. 176-7.

which the schools and colleges impart, and evidently they do, they have to conform to the rules and regulations laid down for these institutions. Therefore, unless the heads of the institutions consent, there should be no political strikes.

But I have suggested a way out. Students have ample time, after school and college hours, of which they are their own masters. They can hold meetings, express their sympathy with the national cause in an orderly manner and they can have processions, too, if they like. Those who wish to take part in civil disobedience and accept my leadership can do so after suspending their studies for the time being, by conforming to the conditions laid down for offering individual civil disobedience and after receiving my permission.

Letters being received by me from individual students show that they have little faith in my leadership, for they have no faith in the constructive programme, of which the centre and the most visible part is khadi. They do not believe in spinning and if my correspondents are to be accepted as reliable witnesses, their belief in non-violence is also a doubtful quantity. Students can play an effective part in the national struggle, if they will whole-heartedly come under the discipline. But if they will act on their own and fritter away their energy in making ineffective demonstrations, they will hinder the national cause.

I am glad to be able to testify that Congressmen are showing a measure of discipline, which is an agreeable surprise to me for I was unprepared for it. Let it not be said of the student world that, at the eleventh hour, they were found wanting. Let them remember that I am asking for greater steadfastness, greater courage and greater self-sacrifice than can be denoted by undisciplined and thoughtless demonstrations.

The students should also realize that the number of civil resisters will always be confined to a few, compared with the 350 million forming the nation. There is no limit to the number who should take part in working the constructive programme. I regard this as the most useful and effective part of the movement for independence, without which civil resistance will cease to be civil and, therefore, be utterly valueless.

The Hindu, 30-11-1940

236. LETTER TO VISHVAMBHAR NATH BHARGAVA

SEVAGRAM,
November 29, 1940

BHAI VISHVAMBHAR NATHJI[1],

I have your letter[2]. Individual advice can be only subject to the Congress Committee's. If I unknowingly give an opposite advice it should not be followed.

Ramnarayan had asked me about Durgaprasad. I had told him that he could prefer an appeal. And if the lawyers also approve, an appeal should be preferred. Durgaprasad's case dates from before the war. But even if it arose after the war but was not concerned with the war, an appeal would lie. And on occasion it may be one's duty to file such an appeal.

I found nothing improper in what Ramnarayan told me about khadi, etc. He is very reserved with me. Except that he asked my opinion about Durgaprasad, he said nothing about Ajmer. Moreover I get very little time for talking.

But you have done well to convey your reactions to me.

The date indicated to me is all right. I think none of your questions remains unanswered now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Secretary, Ajmer Provincial Congress Committee

[2] In which the addressee said that there was a talk in Ajmer that Gandhiji had permitted Durgaprasad to file an appeal which was contrary to what Gandhiji had told him. He also expressed a doubt whether, for those connected directly or indirectly with Gandhiji, Congress opinion carried more weight while they were in Congress or was it necessary to take orders from Gandhiji for matters other than satyagraha.

237. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 30, 1940

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I got your letter. If the persons whose names have been submitted are willing to fulfil the conditions, they may offer civil disobedience.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Tell Raghunandanji[1] that he may well stay out for a few days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2477

238. LETTER TO SATYAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 30, 1940

CHI. SATYAVATI,

You can go whenever you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2478

[1] Raghunandan Saran, President, Delhi Provincial Satyagraha Committee

239. LETTER TO PATWARDHAN

November 30, 1940

BHAI PATWARDHAN,

I have your letter. I got the earlier one also. I could not reply promptly as I was busy with other things. I am still very weak. I have not been able to ask Dada Dharmadhikari. I shall do so now. Clarification is necessary because Sahasrabuddhe's doubts should be cleared. The money will be put to good use only when the school runs smoothly and the money is easily available. I will not be useful as a *Panch* but if I can convince you and Sahasrabuddhe, let me know the correct position on lst December. When I can deal with the whole thing and if I feel the need of sending for all of you, I shall do so.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

240. ABSTRACT OF LETTER TO MUKUNDLAL SIRCAR[1]

[Before *December 2, 1940*][2]

The issue on which individual civil disobedience has been started is undoubtedly that of free speech and free pen. But at the end of every issue is independent India. The movement was limited, in its original conception, to two or three persons, and then extended to members selected by me belonging to the Working Committee, the A.I.C.C. and the Central and Provincial Legislatures. And, according to the occasion and the reaction on me after each move, it is capable of infinite expansion. I have called for classified lists of members of Provincial Congress Committee Executives and similarly of District Congress Committees, Firka or Taluk Congress Committees, and lastly of village Congress Committees. But whatever the expansion may be, it will never be a mass movement. It will always remain, so far as I can see, individual

[1] & [2] The addressee, Acting General Secretary of All-India Forward Bloc, had, in a letter, asked Gandhiji about "Individual Satyagraha Movement and whether it would lead to mass civil disobedience". The letter was reported under the date-line "Calcutta, December 2".

disobedience and will be confined to those who believe in and fulfil my conditions.

The Hindu, 5-12-1940

241. LETTER TO SIR REGINALD MAXWELL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 2, 1940

DEAR SIR REGINALD,

Mahadev Desai gave me your kind message which he has embodied in the full notes he prepared for me of his doings in Delhi. The portion of the notes containing the message reads as follows:

> Well, well, I should have thought that the correct position for a man like Mr. Gandhi to take would have been to address a manifesto to the people of India stating his own position as he did in his appeal[1] to every Briton and then be quiet. Give this message from me to Mr. Gandhi.

I have been fagged out and for some days cutting down the daily work to the minimum. Hence the delay in reply. Even so, I enter into a discussion of your message for the sake of elucidating truth. I know how busy you are and care-worn. But the only way satyagraha works is by a continuous discovery of truth and action based on it. In the progress towards full discovery the satyagrahi has to show that he is ever ready and even eager to learn and appreciate the opponent's side. It is in that spirit that I approach your message.

You would be wholly right in the advice you have sent me if I was a preacher. But I have never adopted that role. I am essentially a man of action and a reformer carrying on an experiment never before tried in the political field. Hence at the risk of making mistakes even big I must continue to tread the chosen path so long as I have no sense of mistake or distrust of my action. My desire is to cause the least embarrassment to the Government consistently with the prosecution of my mission. If it is successful, it cannot fail to benefit the British side by side with India and ultimately the world. If it fails, the Government cannot be hurt. I cannot carry the argument any further. Perhaps what I have

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXII, pp. 229-31.

said is no argument but a bare recital of the motive behind my action and its interpretation in the light of the motive. The rest must be left to time.

Mahadev Desai told me about your dear ones being in the thick of the fight. I am conscious of the fact that what applies to you applies to almost all the known British families. How I wish I could have stood side by side with them. But duty has enjoined upon me a seemingly opposite course. I take comfort in the fact that though seeming to be in the opposite camp, I work for the same end as is declared by the British Government, only with the certain conviction that their method can never defeat Hitlerism and mine alone can, if any at all.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 7858. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

242. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 2, 1940

CHI. MIRA,

Your nice, long letter[2] has just arrived. I understand all you write. May He be your sole guide. I am not unwell. I need rest which I am taking. Yes, I have been pestered with mice. I can't sleep if they disturb me. Their nibbling may be even poisonous. Have you a bedstead? Your net should have a strong flat roof. You must have undisturbed nights. I purposely refrain from giving you any other news or messages. I want to leave your

[1] Acknowledging this letter on December 7, the addressee said: "I am glad to know that you are only seemingly in the opposite camp and that your end is the same as ours. Although I regret that there should be differences about the method of attaining it, I see that I must leave you to work things out in your own way."

[2] Mirabehn explains: "I had explained to Bapu how several little mice had started coming into the hut from the forest, specially at night. They found their way into my bed, sometimes nibbling my feet, sometimes running up and down my side and sometimes getting mixed up in my hair. My chief anxiety was not to squash them. And what with this anxiety and the fidgeting of the mice, sleep became a difficult problem, until I hit on the device of using a mosquito net. This proved wholly successful."

meditation undisturbed. If you speak to Lalji[1], tell him I have him in mind.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6466. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10061

243. MESSAGE TO AHMEDABAD MILL-HANDS[2]

[Before *December 4, 1940*][3]

Ever since I came in contact with you, I have tried to impress upon you that your liberation lies in your own hands. The value of labour is far greater than its price in money. You can enhance or reduce your price as you desire. But if you are satisfied with its cash value, you put your own limitation upon your worth.

The Hindu, 5-12-1940

244. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 4, 1940

CHI. MIRA,

This is being written immediately after reading your letter. I am referring the water difficulty to three doctors who happen to be here. One of them is Sushila. Our contract is that you will stay in the mountains provided you keep your health. Sound body is a condition of every effort material, moral or spiritual. It is good you have left off bread. The slivers went with the parcel. You should inquire about it. I hope you have not sent back the cover containing parcel receipt.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Put alum six gr. to a gallon of water. Let the water stand overnight. In the morning take out the water. Add half a teaspoonful

[1] Kanaiyalal Butail

[2] & [3] According to the source, the message was sent for "the Ahmedabad Labour Day celebrations held on December 4, in connection with the founding of the Textile Labour Association in 1917". All local mills remained closed and meetings were held in labour areas to explain the significance of the Day.

of lime to a gallon of this water and boil and use. But you should get distilled water in Palampur. If you can, use that only.

From the original: C.W. 6467. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 10062

245. LETTER TO GHULAM RASUL QURESHI

December 4, 1940

CHI. QURESHI,

I have your letter. You should not be upset or unhappy over Amtul Salaam's anger, nor be happy about her happiness. She will be here tomorrow afternoon. What about Amina's piles?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10768. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasul Qureshi

246. LETTER TO S. C. CHATTERJEE[1]

SEVAGRAM,
December 5, 1940

DEAR SIR,

The contents of the enclosed speak for themselves. I send you a copy in order that you might correct the bare statement of facts regarding your circular referred to in the letter. You will now understand why I have prevented publication of my letter until I have heard from you. I am anxious not to be instrumental in doing an unconscious injustice to you.[2]

From a photostat: C.W. 10504. Courtesy: India Office Library

[1] The addressee was the Principal, Christ Church College, Kanpur.
[2] *Vide* also pp. 217-8.

247. TELEGRAM TO BARADA PRASANNA PAIN[1]

[On or before *December 6, 1940*][2]

REGRET INABILITY EVEN UNWILLINGNESS TO INTERFERE. NOTWITHSTANDING MY REGARD AND FRIENDSHIP FOR THE BROTHERS FEEL BAN CANNOT BE LIFTED WITHOUT THEIR APOLOGIZING FOR INDISCIPLINE.

The Hindu, 7-12-1940

248. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
December 6, 1940

I have just read Sardar Sampuran Singh's astounding statement before the court.[3] I do not know who passed his name. In my instructions, I had explicitly prohibited the inclusion of names such as his. But I compliment Sardar Sampuran Singh on his courage in telling the truth at the cost of his political reputation. Let his example be a warning to others that I attach no value to empty and meaningless discipline in whose name Sardar Sampuran Singh offered civil disobedience.

I have also read a report of the boisterous demonstration students are alleged to have made over the arrest of Sardar Sampuran

[1] & [2] The addressee, "a prominent member of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party", had, in a telegram, requested Gandhiji "to direct the immediate withdrawal of the Congress High Command's ban on Sarat Chandra Bose and Subhas Chandra Bose in order to put an end to the wrangle in Bengal Congress politics". The telegram was reported under the date-line "Calcutta, December 6".

[3] Sampuran Singh, Leader of the Congress Party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, was expelled from the Party for his conduct in the court. According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1940*, Vol. II, p. 53, Abul Kalam Azad in his letter to Sampuran Singh said: "There is nothing in the explanation you have sent me. Your replies in the court clearly demonstrate that you do not agree with the decision of the Congress about war. In spite of this you offered yourself as a satyagrahi and made both yourself and the Party of which you had the honour of being a leader, ludicrous." *Vide* also "Statement to the Press", 20-12-1940.

Singh in whom they saw a hero. The students should know that they have done a great disservice to the national cause. Let this unruly demonstration, assuming the correctness of the report, be a warning to Congressmen that they are not to court demonstrations.

There has been about this unfortunate case of Sardar Sampuran Singh some bungling on the part of those who were in charge of the Congress organizations. They have departed from the strict instruction that civil disobedience should be offered from villages. This is no movement to overawe or to deliberately embarrass the Government, whatever may be said to the contrary. It is a movement to express the stern determination of the Congress to pay the highest price required in the shape of self-sacrifice and suffering for vindicating national honour.

The Hindu, 7-12-1940

249. *STATEMENT TO THE PRESS*

WARDHAGANJ,
December 7, 1940

I have just been made aware of the movement to withdraw from the match[1], I understand, as a mark of grief over the arrests and imprisonment of satyagrahis, more especially recent arrests of leaders. I must confess ignorance of these matches and the etiquette governing them. My opinion must, therefore, be taken as of a layman knowing nothing of such sports and special rules governing them. But I must confess my sympathies wholly with those who would like to see these matches stopped. I express this opinion not merely as a satyagrahi desirous of getting public support in some way or other for the movement. I must say at once that the present movement is wholly independent of such demonstrations or adventitious support. But I would discountenance such amusements at a time when the thinking world should be mourning over the war that is threatening the stable life of Europe and its civilization and which bids fare to overwhelm Asia.

I would like the public of Bombay to revise their sporting code and erase from it communal matches. I can understand matches between colleges and institutions but I never understood reasons for having Hindu, Parsi, Muslim and other communal elevens.

[1] The reference is to the pentangular cricket match to be played in Bombay on December 12; *vide* also "Telegram to Bhalerao", p. 232.

Can you not have some field of life which cannot be touched by the communal spirit? I should like, therefore, those who have anything to do with this movement to stop the match, broaden the issue and take the opportunity of considering it from the highest standpoint and decide once for all upon banishing communal taints from sporting world and also deciding upon banishing these sports from our life whilst blood-bath is going on.

The Hitavada, 8-12-1940

250. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 8, 1940

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN[1],

Certainly those who are engaged in public work are free. They need not give their names, and having given them can withdraw them without any slur being cast upon them. Therefore Ramakant can be absolved for the asking.

Many thanks for the convocation address[2]. I shall make it a point of going through it at the earliest opportunity.[3]

I think Mr. Jinnah will accept nothing unless Pakistan is granted. He has said this in clear terms.

Why do you 'hate the whole idea of satyagraha by the representatives of the people'?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Mahatma, Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. 6, between pages 8 and 9

251. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 8, 1940

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I had your long letter. You will not overstrain yourself. Do conserve your energy.

[1] Vice-Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University

[2] Delivered at the University of Patna on November 29

[3] Gandhiji gave his view in letter dated December 28, to the addressee.

Amtul Salaam[1] has told me your love towards her and how you all rained torrents on her.

Your letter on the situation I understand. She is now under treatment. I won't send her back till she is quite fit. But neither she nor I will be happy till Sind is free from senseless murders. Her heart is in Sind.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 9266. Courtesy: Jairamdas Doulatram

252. *LETTER TO S. C. MUKHERJEE*

December 8, 1940

With regard to the renewal of the deposit in the Bank of Nagpur Ltd. on behalf of the Jallianwala Bagh Trust Fund[2], I am of opinion that the deposit should be renewed for a period of three years from the date of renewal, bearing interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum provided that in the event of the Trust requiring the funds or part thereof at an earlier period, the withdrawal should be subject to reduction of interest at the rate for the shorter period and provided further that in the event of the Bank rate suffering increase the Trust should have the benefit of such increase.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

M. K. GANDHI

253. *LETTER TO DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, WARDHA*[3]

[*December 9, 1940*][4]

DEAR SIR,

Shri Pyarelal Nayyar, my co-worker for past twenty-five years and co-secretary with Shri Mahadev Desai, will offer civil

[1] She was called back from Sind; *vide* "Telegram to Amtussalaam", pp. 199 and 202.

[2] Of which Gandhiji was President, and the addressee Secretary

[3] *The Hindu*, 14-12-1940, published the letter as given in Mahadev Desai's statement to the Press, which began as follows: "Considerable interest attaches to Mr. Pyarelal's satyagraha in the villages of Wardha District. Mahatma Gandhi had taken extra precautions to preserve non-violence of the movement in letter and spirit, as would appear from his letter to the Deputy Commissioner".

[4] From the reference to Pyarelal's satyagraha which was on December 10; *vide* "Letter to Vijayabehn M. Pancholi", p. 219, also "Letter to Sir J. G. Laithwaite", pp. 227-8.

disobedience tomorrow at 9 a.m. from the railway gate leading to Wardha from Sevagram. He will walk on in the direction of Ahjee and continue until arrested or except for rest and food. On the way he will recite the following slogan[1] in Hindustani or Marathi as occasion demands.

In order to show that this movement is wholly non-violent and independent of boisterous demonstrations and in order to warn the public against a repetition of the recent unfortunate exhibition of indiscipline in Patna and Lahore, I am avoiding the usual notice to the public of the proposed civil disobedience tomorrow. I have only informed Sheth Jamnalal and Shri Gopalrao, the President of the Provincial Congress Committee, with strict instructions not to advertise the function in any way.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

254. *LETTER TO S. A. BRELVI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 9, 1940

MY DEAR BRELVI,

Your fairly full letter is very helpful to me in understanding the situation.

Yours,
BAPU

SYED ABDULLAH BRELVI SAHEB
ZAMIAH MANZIL
CHURCHGATE RECLAMATION
BOMBAY

From the original: S. A. Brelvi Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Standardized by Gandhiji (*vide* p. 200) for the civil resisters, it read: "It is wrong to help the British war effort with either men or money. The only worthy effort is to resist all war by non-violent resistance".

255. *LETTER TO UMA DEVI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 9, 1940

MY DEAR UMA,

I like your letter. Believe me you are wholly wrong. Can evil be repelled by greater evil? When you have cooled down, you will own that you were carried away by your excess of passion which had blurred your vision. But go on. You are too good not to see the grave error into which you have been betrayed.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8058 and 1204. Also C.W. 5099. Courtesy: Wanda Dynowska

256. *LETTER TO S. C. CHATTERJEE*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 9, 1940

DEAR PRINCIPAL CHATTERJEE,

I thank you for your prompt reply. I congratulate you on your securing the undertaking from 243 out of 246 students.[1] For me it is a painful proof of the unworthiness of the students to understand the value either of self-restraint or contents of self-respect.

No amount of violence on the part of students can justify the narrow communalism you have been betrayed into showing.[2]

[1] In his letter dated December 7 to Gandhiji, the addressee had explained that in August he had warned all students of his college that if they organized any strike by coercive measures, "they would be required to leave the college or promise never to join such a strike".

[2] The addressee had written: "As regards my letter to the Muslim Students' Federation, I would beg of you to bear in mind that it was written in reply to a letter I had received from them. . . . I would be guilty of irreverence, if I tried to enter into an argument with you. I shall only say that, unless I have failed to understand and appreciate your ideals, character and outlook, I am sure that if you had been Principal of this college, you would not have acted otherwise than I have." *Vide* also "Letter to S. C. Chatterjee", pp. 229-30.

I am sorry you think you belong to a minority community. Will you believe me that if Rudra and Andrews were alive they would utterly repudiate your narrow outlook?[1] I wish you could realize the gravity of the injury you have done to the nation of which you are a member, and to the profession in which you have mounted to a high rank, even to the religion which bears the sacred name of the Christ anointed and crucified. I wish you could see that by your action you have crucified Him afresh.

This letter is too sacred for publication. It is for you alone and in the name of the two sons of mankind whom you have mentioned.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Home, Political, File No. 3/33/40-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

257. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 9, 1940

DEAR MAULANA SAHEB,

Yes, Dharam Yash Dev[2] was with me for three days. He went this morning to see his wife. He has promised to return. I hope to fix him up in due course.

Hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] In his letter, the addressee had introduced himself as "an old pupil of Principal S. K. Rudra and C. F. Andrews". Sushil Kumar Rudra of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, died in Delhi on June 29, 1925. C. F. Andrews died in Calcutta on April 4, 1940.

[2] Secretary in charge of overseas Indian branch in the A.I.C.C. office. The addressee, in his letter dated December 6, had strongly recommended him for offering individual civil disobedience.

258. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 9, 1940

DEAR DR. MAHMUD,

Thank you for your long letter which I shared with Bapu. We both had a few minutes' relaxation because of it. Such relaxation is a welcome thing when one is hard pressed for time as one is these days.

Bapu said, he was glad to know that you had been able to write such a long letter in your own hand; it shows your health must be better. I said, the handwriting was not yours and the letter was dictated. We had a dispute! You may enlighten me as to which is right!

Kindest regards and hoping your health will gradually improve,

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

From the original: Dr. Syed Mahmud Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also G.N. 5113

259. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

December 9, 1940

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your letter. When I don't write anything, you may take it that my health is all right. Do not believe newspaper reports. Yes, I do feel exhausted and so I am taking a little rest. Amtul Salaam is here. She will go to Sind again. Manu[1] has arrived. There are many others. The Ashram is full. Pyarelal will court imprisonment tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7135. Also C.W. 4627. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

[1] Manubehn S. Mashruwala; also called Manudi

260. LETTER TO SULTANA QURESHI

December 9, 1940

CHI. SULTANA,

Improve your handwriting. What is wrong with your health? Get well soon. When it is your turn to go to the jail, do so. At present card, spin and learn all the processes of cotton. Serve the poor and be more simple. Do you recite the Koran? Do you write in Urdu?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Amtul Salaambehn is here.

DAUGHTER SULTANA QURESHI
SHRI VITTHAL KANYA VIDYALAYA
NADIAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10762. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasul Qureshi

261. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

December 9, 1940

DAUGHTER,

The more I think of your letter the more highly I think of you. And I feel happy. You should do your work on your own responsibility. It is true that you came over here on your mission; you went to Sind and will go there again in pursuit of your own mission. You will certainly get my counsel; but whatever you do should be your own responsibility. You will, of course, consult Jairamdas and others whom you wish to. You can go whenever you like. It was good that I sent for you here. For the present be guided by Dr. Das. Do not call on anyone here. Give up the temptation of rendering even the least little service to me. If you cannot desist, you may well do it. But the less you serve me, the less friction there will be. You will be with Madam Wadia[1] as long as she is here. Seek her advice. That will keep you busy for quite some time.

[1] Sophia Wadia

Now about your work in Sind. You have to give up all interest in the [problems of] prisoners and [dispute about] Manzilgah[1]. You may listen to everyone; but this is a matter for the courts to decide. You have to explain to the Muslims of Sind that in political matters and the like, justice cannot be secured through murder, force or untruth. Your going to Sind and even sacrificing your life should be for stopping the bloodshed, whether or no the Muslims get justice or injustice. That was my object in sending you, and remains so even now.

Despite these views of mine, I do not wish to explain things to you or advise you elaborately. I shall not be in a position to advise you in political matters since I shall have to listen to and abide by the words of Maulana. In respect of bloodshed, it is not necessary to consult him. I do think that you should not do anything against the wishes of Maulana. It is your duty to meet Muslim Leaguers, to listen to them and to love them. I believe that there can be no Hindu-Muslim unity without them.

May God clear the path for you. He alone is the Compassionate One and you and I are all His slaves; everything else is unreal.

Millions of blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 459

262. *LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

December 9, 1940

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Your letter is clean. Yoga consists in doing your work skilfully. But skill must include *bhakti*. The devotee chants the name of Rama while eating and while sleeping. You should daily come and see the figures of the three monkeys, which I keep by my side. Where have you the time to see other things? Forget whatever you have seen [before].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4364

[1] On October 1, 1939, Muslims at Sukkur launched satyagraha with a view to securing possession of Manzilgah. To arrest the communal riots which had broken out, Sind Government had to open fire on November 20; *vide* Vol. LXX, pp. 391-2. Also footnote to "Letter to Abdul Qaiyum", 3-3-1941.

263. *DISCUSSION WITH T. R. DEOGIRIKAR*[1]

[Before *December 10, 1940*][2]

Mahatmaji was asked whether after the commencement of his fast the satyagraha would stop. He became at once serious and said, why should satyagraha stop if he started his fast; there was no connection between the two. Satyagraha would and must go on in spite of the fast. I showed him the list. He asked me whether I have got full information of those whose names I had suggested. I said, "Yes, I have brought that."

GANDHIJI: Do you know the ages of those satyagrahis?

DEOGIRIKAR: Sorry, I have not [noted] that; but all of them are above eighteen.

G. That is not sufficient. Do you know how many persons are dependent on each of the satyagrahis? Take for instance Mr. Mahajan. How many persons are dependent on him?

I could not reply. He said:

Some persons come to me and say that they have thirteen persons to support. Wherefrom can I or the Congress Committee give them money? They must not depend on the Congress Committees for the support of their families.

D. In the pledges they have agreed that they would not ask for help. Is it not sufficient?

G. Yes, I want to know under what pressing conditions they are offering satyagraha. Do you know in the military for instance John's details are given in full. The commander must know every detail about the persons whom he asks to fight. When I went to Round Table Conference, the Government had full information about us. I want to prepare a Who's who. I want to publish a book giving details about the satyagrahis. I want to show to the Britishers, nay, to the whole world, what the calibre of our satyagrahis is. Do you know Mr. Young of *The Pioneer*? When he

[1] President, Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee

[2] The discussion appears to have taken place after the commencement of the satyagraha on October 17, 1940. However, the date-line is inferred from the reference to "sending Pyarelal to Jail", which happened on December 10; *vide* pp. 219 and 227-8.

came here, he was a pauper, a beggar. He got a job in *The Pioneer*. He became Editor of the paper, but as soon as war commenced, he was taken on Rs. 5,000 by the Government. He took all the Englishmen working in that paper with him, and gave them high posts, and high salaries. They are exploiting India as much as they can even now. This is the sacrifice of the English people at the time of the war. I want to show by contrast that whereas the Englishmen are fattening themselves on India's money, the sons of India having big families to support are courting jail for their country. I am going to lay before the world that the satyagrahis who had thirteen men to support made supreme sacrifices for the country. Would it not be glorious?

"Yes", I said. I told him I would supply him all the details as soon as I go to Poona.

G. Yes, do that. The Andhra people have given me full details. You must give me details about your province. You know this is not a mass satyagraha. I do not want a large number of people going to jail. I want the choicest and the best men to offer satyagraha, they must not only be the representatives but must be men of high standard. I want to have such men. They may be few, but must be the best. I am sending Pyarelal to jail. Do you know what hardships I would be put to? He is my hand, my foot, nay, my brain. Without him I cannot work. But I am sending him on the 15th. I want to send Mahadev also, but I would be crippled if I send him now. But his turn is to come soon. In making selection keep this point in view.

D. Mahatmaji, what should be the form of the notice to be given to the Magistrates?

G. Why, don't you know it?

D. Yes, I know, we were saying that we were selected by Mahatmaji.

G. Yes, that should be the form. You must write in the notice that you are selected by me for offering satyagraha; there should be one form in the whole country. We must have a uniform notice. In the Civil Procedure Code, the Government has one settled form of summons. Go to any distant part of the country and you will have the same language of the summons. We must have one uniform language in satyagraha, be particular about it.

D. Some persons whom we don't select will also be giving notices to the District Magistrate and will be going to jail. How can we prevent it?

G. That will be a calamity. They should not do that. They should not embarrass us.

D. Mahatmaji, may I suggest one way to distinguish between the genuine satyagrahis and non-genuine satyagrahis?

G. Yes, yes.

D. How do you like the idea of submitting the whole list approved by you to the District Magistrate of the Government?

G. That is splendid, you do it. The Government must know who are our men and who are coming in our way to foil our attempt.

D. What about the Provincial and District Congress Committees? What work should they do and where are the men to do that?

G. What normal activities can you do? You won't get good men to carry on the work. Let the whole Constitution be suspended. Only one man should be at the head of the organization.

D. You have given, I am told, option to the Provinces to determine their policy with regard to the Local Bodies. We have asked the Local Body members to resign.

G. No, no, you must not ask them to resign. Why should they resign? You did not take them on the Congress ticket on the condition that they should either go to jail or should resign, if the political situation develops in the way in which it has done now. Manu Subhedar has resigned. He wrote to me today that he was not taken on Congress ticket on the condition of his going to jail. He says that he is not afraid of going to jail. He is right. I have just written to him not to resign. Let the seats remain vacant if the members go to jail, the Local Bodies' work must go on. Undesirable persons would capture the seats if you resign.

D. Should the communists be included in the list?

G. No.

D. Should we open volunteer camps?

G. No.

D. What about meetings?

G. No meetings should be held for satyagraha, that is creating violent atmosphere. Look at the Ghatkopar incident. I don't want to give the slightest opportunity for violence. Only slogans should be prononunced. Notice to the District Magistrate is sufficient. People should not be informed of your satyagraha. Maybe the three slogans, viz., (i) not to give money (ii) not to give men for army (iii) to oppose war measures by non-violent means—this should be on everybody's mouth just as Ramanama has become

universal. Does it require notification to the people?
Every man, child and woman should repeat that. Let the whole atmosphere be surcharged with this *mantra*. You can have meetings no doubt but they should not be for the purpose of satyagraha.

I told him that persons arrested under Section 129 would be served with restraint orders after they are kept in jail for two months. "Should they break the orders immediately?"

G. Yes, if their names are approved by me, they must disobey the orders.

D. What about those who come out after their term of sentence is over?

I have selected them and I want them to go to jail again and again. They require no further permission from me to offer satyagraha. This is the last fight, we must sacrifice all for it. You don't offer satyagraha soon.

D. How will it be possible? I am doing this work and any day I am likely to be arrested.

G. Yes, yes, I am sitting on the mouth of death, anything may happen to you and to me. But instruct your successor to mind my order. The second list must not begin before January.

Gandhiji appeared full of hopes and sure of success. I took his leave and departed.

Home, Political, File No. 3/33/40.-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

264. *TELEGRAM TO MYSORE CONGRESSMEN*[1]

[On or before *December 10, 1940*][2]

DELIGHTED OVER THE SIGNAL SUCCESS. YOU MUST NOW BUILD UP CONSTRUCTIVELY.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-12-1940

[1] & [2] The telegram was sent by Mahadev Desai on the success of Mysore Congressmen in securing all the seats in Mysore Municipal elections. The message was reported under the date-line "Bombay, December 10".

265. TELEGRAM TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

WARDHAGANJ,
December 10, 1940

PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON
SAMMELAN
ALLAHABAD

HEAR YOU CONSIDER THAT DISCIPLINE DEMANDS YOUR ABANDONING PRESENT DUTY AND GOING. BUT DISCIPLINE DEMANDS FULFILMENT OF DUTY UNDERTAKEN AND THEN GOING. THEREFORE UNLESS YOUR OWN CONSCIENCE DEMANDS OTHERWISE MY FIRM OPINION IS YOU SHOULD ATTEND POONA SAMMELAN[1] AND THEN GO.

GANDHI

From the original: Gandhi–Tandon Correspondence No. XIV/51. Courtesy: National Archives of India

266. TELEGRAM TO CHAMANLAL[2]

SEVAGRAM,
December 10, 1940

DEWAN CHAMANLAL
LAHORE

HAVE NEVER KNOWN YOU BELIEVE IN KHADI OR NON-VIOLENT TECHNIQUE. DO YOU SPIN AND WEAR KHADI HABITUALLY? PLEASE ENLIGHTEN ME BEFORE I CAN SEND YOU PERMISSION AND BLESSINGS.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Annual session of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan
[2] Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly

267. LETTER TO SIR J. G. LAITHWAITE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 10, 1940

DEAR MR. LAITHWAITE,

The time has arrived for informing His Excellency of the development that is going on within and the outward expression it is to find.

In every step I am taking I bear in mind the difficulties through which the brave people of the British Isles are passing. Hence I am moving slowly and with the greatest deliberation. It is my deep conviction that in all I am doing I am serving the British, in spite of themselves, equally, with my own people. This I can do only if I keep the movement completely non-violent or as much as is possible for a popular movement to be. I know that notwithstanding great care, I am sometimes deceived. But I know too that in the aggregate the balance is in favour of honesty. To ensure this and to set the tone, I began with my best representative who cannot be called a politician in the accepted sense. I refer to Shri Vinoba Bhave. Then I took up politicians, pure and simple. But I cannot be sure of the probity of large numbers of people with whom I have no personal contact. I have perforce to rely upon certificates of political associates. I believe that in the majority of cases the selections have been well made. But since I am myself not offering civil disobedience, I feel that I must send more men like Shri Vinoba Bhave for I am anxious to show that the movement is not purely political. It is much more. And so Pyarelal Nayyar has gone today. He and Mahadev have been my constant companions all these many years. Satyagraha is a movement of self-purification and self-sacrifice. I must continue to part with the best I have. And so Mahadev will follow Pyarelal in due course. There are many who have no political ambition and yet who have a passionate love for freedom and still greater for the famishing millions. Many of these have still to be sent. They and the elected members in the Congress organization who fulfil my conditions as to the charkha, untouchability and communal harmony will be offered. I propose to offer them from the beginning of the New Year.

I must continue to offer such sacrifice until I carry conviction to the ruling power that the satyagrahis represent a definite

opinion in the country and that they represent millions. Theirs is a mission of peace to vindicate which they are prepared to sacrifice their all. It is no less to them a matter of principle of the life and death than to the British power against whom they are seemingly at war. They are as much opposed to Hitlerism and Fascism as the latter. Only they fight with the weapons of non-violence whereas the latter vainly expect to kill Hitlerism by excelling Hitler and Mussolini in the manufacture and use of weapons that these two dictators use. I hope this argument will not jar on His Excellency. I bring it forward to claim for our movement the same reality and strength that are claimed on behalf of the British. They are none the less because they do not apply to the whole of India. It was therefore wrong for Mr. Amery to characterize the movement as artificial. Do the hundreds who have gone to jail love prison life? Oh, for an ounce of imagination to realize that a human being wearing a brown or black skin can have equal susceptibility with the wearers of the white skin!

The notes that Mahadev prepared for me put these words in your mouth:

> I have to reply to your question about *Harijan*. Well, Mr. Gandhi has to make up his own mind. Only let him or you not preach any breach of the law.

If Mahadev has correctly reported you, may I say that the warning was unnecessary. How can an unlawful movement be conducted lawfully by a newspaper guided by the author of the movement? But many things remain lawful so long as the Government wish them to remain so. I am quite sure that you can prosecute me or Mahadev for many things we have written. *Harijan*, therefore, can be restarted during the pendency of the movement, only if the Government desire it and believe that it was an organ which was serving both the nations, indeed the whole of humanity.[1]

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: C.W. 7859. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] Acknowledging this letter on December 14, Laithwaite informed Gandhiji: "It has been laid before His Excellency who has asked me to thank you for putting him in possession of your mind and intentions."

268. *LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 10, 1940

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

You are greedy. You were not satisfied with the elegant message that I sent with Bhai Vaidya. Here is my signature. I like the issue of your *Khadi Patrika* very much. If the three things that are mentioned there are carried on well, the Bombay [bhandar] will not remain a mere khadi bhandar but will become a beautiful production centre also.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.W. 10850. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

269. *LETTER TO S. C. CHATTERJEE*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 11, 1940

DEAR PRINCIPAL CHATTERJEE,

I have gone through your long letter[1]. It leaves me wholly unconvinced. I have based my opinion on your letter to the Muslim Students' Federation. This you have not denied.[2] I wrote to you for the simple reason that if there was anything that you could say in justification of that letter or if the letter was a fabrication, you should have the opportunity of saying so to me.

[1] Dated December 8, it was in continuation of what he wrote on December 7; *vide* footnotes 1 and 2, p. 217, and footnote 1, p. 218.

[2] The addressee had said: "You have condemned me as a rank communalist, merely because I encouraged Muslim students through their Federation not to be cowards and allow themselves to be treated as slaves in the matter of the exercise of their elementary rights of attending college. I understand, you are opposed to Mr. Jinnah's scheme for the partition of India; so am I. But, may I ask you if your conception of India is really different to the one that I have suggested to the Muslim Students' Federation?"

Unfortunately there is no extenuating circumstance to justify your letter. Your intellectual gifts, your impartial philanthropy and many other virtues that you may summon to your assistance are wholly irrelevant as is also my conduct[1] in connection with the British Government. Of course you are free to publish the correspondence between you and me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Home, Political, File No. 3/33/40-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

270. LETTER TO N. S. HARDIKAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 11, 1940

DEAR HARDIKAR,

I have your touching letter. You shall go after 5th January. Meanwhile do take care of your health and wind up your paper.

I would like to have you treated here for your cough. I have just now a qualified doctor[2] who for the last ten years has been curing patients by dietetic changes. Come, if you can.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: N. S. Hardikar Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Towards the end of his letter, the addressee had remarked: "I have long lost faith in your political wisdom. More recently I have found your attitude to India's participation in the war to be altogether incomprehensible."

[2] Presumably, the reference is to Dr. Das; *vide* "Letter to Amtussalaam", p. 220; also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 11-1-1941.

271. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM[1]

[Before *December 12, 1940*][2]

DAUGHTER,

Your letter is very bad. I have never entertained any suspicion. If that is your sin, call it a sin. You do not understand your guilt. I tell you, you will not succeed so long as you are not cleansed. This is bare truth. It is futile to go to Maulana. Whether you approve or not, I shall write to Jairamdas. If you permit, I am prepared to talk to Sophia and Kafi. If you want to fast, you cannot do it here. Fasting is not the remedy for cleansing yourself.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 712

272. TELEGRAM TO SHRIRAM[3]

[On or before *December 12, 1940*][4]

IF YOUR STANDARD IS THAT OF SARDAR SAMPURAN SINGH[5] YOU MAY NOT GO. IF YOUR STANDARD IS THAT OF PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU YOU MAY GO. PLEASE CIRCULATE THIS AMONG YOUR CO-LEGISLATORS.

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-12-1940

[1] Gandhiji did not allow the addressee to go to Sind; thereupon she asked him what suspicions he had and what sins she had committed.

[2] From the reference to the letter to Jairamdas Doulatram; *vide* "Letter to Jairamdas Doulatram", p. 232.

[3] & [4] The addressee, a Congress M.L.A. from the Punjab, had asked Gandhiji "for instructions relating to satyagraha in the Punjab". The telegram was reported under the date-line "Rohtak, December 12".

[5] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 212-3.

273. TELEGRAM TO BHALERAO[1]

December 12, 1940

ALL WHO HOLD MY OPINION MUST REFRAIN WHETHER FEW OR MANY.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

274. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 12, 1940

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I had sent a minor[2] to Sind and I thought she had returned a major. That was the impression created on my mind by a letter she wrote and to which I had replied. She has sent you a copy of my reply. But her action belied my interpretation as she herself perceived. She saw that mine was an over-liberal interpretation to which she could in [no] way live up. Hence she remains what she went as—a minor requiring delicate care and attention. She will be sent back when her health is fully restored and when you and Maulana Saheb think she can come. Her life is dedicated to the cause of peace in Sind to the extent of stopping terrorism of which wanton murders are but a symptom.

You will not endanger your health in thinking of Amtul Salaam. She is in God's hands.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 9256. Courtesy: Jairamdas Doulatram

[1] The addressee, Secretary, Bombay Hindu Cricket Club, in his telegram dated December 11, had asked Gandhiji whether he wanted only Hindus to boycott the pentangular cricket matches; *vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 213-4.

[2] Amtussalaam; *vide* also letter to the addressee, pp. 214-5.

275. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

[After *December 12, 1940*][1]

I am not able to make out anything from what was narrated to me. As for money, I had already issued an appeal. Let us be content with whatever we have received. Now you have to deal directly with Maulana and Jairamdas. You should write to them everything. I have put in my letter to him everything that I could. The Sindis received it direct from here.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 688

276. LETTER TO ACHREKAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 13, 1940

DEAR ACHREKAR,

I am sorry for your troubles[2]. You may certainly postpone offering civil disobedience till you are out of the wood. I hope, however, that you are doing regular spinning and taking in constructive work. I hope you know also that spinning includes carding.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] From the reference to letter to Jairamdas Doulatram; *vide* the preceding item.

[2] Financial

277. LETTER TO J. M. DATTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 13, 1940

DEAR FRIEND,

Nothing that I can do will alter the situation[1] but I think there will be no difficulty as there is no boycott declared on behalf of the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA
45 BARRACKPORE TRUNK ROAD
COSSIPORE P. O.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

278. LETTER TO PREMNATH BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 13, 1940

DEAR PREMNATH,

I have your letter. On the face of it the order[2] about Hindi and Urdu seems quite harmless. But I can give no final opinion without knowing all sides of the question. And if at all possible you will spare me the trouble of studying it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee had requested Gandhiji to give his blessings to the Bengal Census Board and to ask the Hindus to get themselves enumerated.

[2] Issued by the Kashmir Government, allowing the use of both Devanagari and Persian scripts in Government schools

279. TESTIMONIAL TO PRITHVI SINGH

SEVAGRAM,
December 14, 1940

I have gone through "The Scheme of Physical Training" which Sardar Prithvi Singh has given me. It was placed before the public many years ago but it does not seem to have been implemented anywhere. I liked the Scheme. It takes into account the condition of the country, is simple and inexpensive and can be readily implemented. I have always been of the opinion that for true education, strength of the body, mind and heart should be equally and simultaneously developed. But in practice attention is paid to one aspect only and that too without any reference to the condition of the country. Sardar Prithvi Singh's suggestion regarding development of physique is worth pondering over. I hope that the experts in that field will study the Scheme and, if they approve of it, implement it.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5643. Also C.W. 2954. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

280. LETTER TO GURUMUKH SINGH MUSAFIR

December 15, 1940

DEAR GIANIJI[1],

You have asked me for my interpretation of the teachings of the Ten Gurus[2]. Here it is:

I regard Guru Granth Saheb as one of the scriptures of the world. I consider myself an humble follower of their teachings as of the teachings of Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Hinduism. The essence of the teachings (so far as non-violence is concerned and that is what you want to know from me) is, that they all enjoin non-violence as a duty, but they tolerate violence

[1] Member, Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee

[2] Of the Sikhs

when the choice before the votary is between cowardly surrender and the use of the sword.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

281. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

December 15, 1940

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have heard the roar of the lion and the wail of the cow.[1] The cow will remain where she is. I have talked to Aryanayakamji[2] and Ashadevi.

Is that all right?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1939

282. LETTER TO PATWARDHAN

SEVAGRAM,
December 15, 1940

BHAI PATWARDHAN,

I laughed heartily after reading your letter. It is only when I can satisfy you that you will have faith in my judgment. It is good that I have never had the desire to give the verdict. I do what I can as a friend. I have sent a copy of Dada's[3] letter to Sahasrabuddhe. There has been no reply from him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee had written a harsh letter to Gandhiji when he came to know that the plot used as *goshala* was to be given to the Talimi Sangh. He wrote on behalf of the dumb cow.

[2] E. W. Aryanayakam

[3] Dharmadhikari

283. LETTER TO HANSRAJ RADHAR[1]

[Before *December 16, 1940*][2]

There is to be no civil disobedience, individual or mass in the States.

The Hitavada, 18-12-1940

284. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR

Early Morning, December 16, 1940

I was in the midst of mad . . .[3] They had besieged me. With difficulty they had carried me to the door of my abode. But one admirer had possession of me and won't leave me. So I howled for help.

From the original: C.W. 4220. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7856

285. LETTER TO MOHAMMAD HAMIDULLAH KHAN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 16, 1940

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB,

Here is a pathetic letter from Zakir[4]. You will not mind my approaching you for the assistance. From a tiny thing Jamia[5] has become a big institution. You know that it was the joint creation of the Ali Brothers, Hakim Saheb and Dr. Ansari. Dr. Zakir was Mahomed Ali's choice. And he has, so far as I know, come up to the highest expectation. He has able and self-sacrificing assistants. I know you have heavy calls on your purse. But this should not be a strain on your purse. I leave the case in your hands.

[1] & [2] According to the source, the addressee, a political worker in Jind, had requested Gandhiji "to permit the State Congress to launch satyagraha in the State". The letter was reported under the date-line "Lahore, December 16".

[3] One word is illegible in the source. Gandhiji was describing a dream.

[4] Zakir Husain

[5] Jamia Millia Islamia

I hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. H. OF BHOPAL

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

286. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL MAJMUDAR

December 16, 1940

CHI. PARIKSHITLAL,

I have read your report. What is the cause of the failure in Kheda and Ahmedabad? Are you making an all-out effort to win over the opponents? Why not start a model school in such places and induce other pupils to join it? Of course, that would involve expenditure. Perhaps Ambalalbhai[1] may agree to meet it. Is it the Patidars who oppose or some other communities or all the communities? If the Government grant has been delayed, why doesn't Gulzarilal[2] meet the officer concerned?

Blessings from
BAPU

PARIKSHITLAL MAJMUDAR
HARIJAN ASHRAM
SABARMATI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3992. Also C.W. 150. Courtesy: Parikshitlal Majmudar

287. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 16, 1940

CHI. PRABHA,

There has been no letter from you recently. I hope your health is all right.

My purpose in writing this is to tell you that I am eagerly hoping that Jayaprakash will come and see me. I wonder why there is no letter from him and why he has not met me till now. I will know from you.

[1] Ambalal Sarabhai

[2] Gulzarilal Nanda, Secretary, Ahmedabad Textile Workers' Union

Sushila will come here about the 22nd or the 23rd. Manu is here. There are others, too. The Ashram is full.

I am keeping well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3549

288. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

December 16, 1940

BHAI TANDONJI,

I have your letter. At the instance of Sardar Prithvi Singh I had requested Vaishampayanji to come to Sevagram. He had come here. He mentioned the matter of money to me also. I do not know what Shri Deo may have thought about it, but I personally do not like the idea of the Samiti having to bear the expense of the Reception [Committee]. There is a difference of opinion between Vaishampayanji and Deo. In such a situation it is difficult to get money for them from the Samiti. I think the expense of the reception should be borne by the Reception Committees. I told the same thing to Vaishampayanji. We talked about other things too. I hope everything will work out well.

Rajendra Babu, being ill, will not be able to attend. Jamnalalji's date has been fixed. It should not be changed. What applies to you cannot be applied to others. You are the founder and the life of the Sammelan, and I have full faith that it will be sufficient if you are present there. Kakaji[1] and Shriman[2] will be going, of course. Rajendra Babu should also go if his health permits. I shall write [to him].

I hope you are well.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] D. B. Kalelkar
[2] Shriman Narayan

289. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

Silence Day, December 16, 1940

DAUGHTER,

If you wish to act on principles, where is the room for service to me? In that case, all your time should be devoted to the service of Shastriji. I do everything in the capacity of a father, not of a mother, although I aspire to be a mother. The status of a father sets its own restrictions on a man.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 462

290. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

December 16, 1940

DAUGHTER,

Your behaviour upsets me. You are full of anger and also pride. You think you know a lot, but in fact you are a fool. You talk of principles, but understand nothing about them. You do not act on principles or, maybe, you have only one principle, viz., to stay near me and to serve me. This is no principle. It is a matter of affection. If I allow you to do some service out of love, you start flinging principles at my face. When will you understand this simple thing? Your going to Sind would be futile till you do not understand this.

Think over this letter. Cast away anger and pride and learn humility.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 463

291. INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS[1]

WARDHAGANJ,
December 17, 1940

Under Gandhiji's instructions I have to make the following announcement: All Provincial Congress Committees and other Committees will please note that there is to be no satyagraha during Christmas, that is to say, between December 24 and January 4, both days inclusive. Satyagrahis outside the three permitted classes may start satyagraha on and after January 5 and all lists approved by Gandhiji may be finished by April 5.

A number of applications are being received here direct from various parts of the country. In many cases we have referred them to the Pradesh Congress Committees concerned. But we have not been able to reach all applications. All intending satyagrahis will please note that they have to apply to the P.C.Cs of their respective provinces clearly stating their names and addresses, age, occupation, their freedom from commitments and illness and declaring faith in Truth and non-violence and in the constructive programme. Concretely stated, they should express their belief in non-violence as the only means of attaining swaraj and the only worthy way of ending all wars within the terms of the Bombay resolution[2] of the A.I.C.C.; that they believe in the vital connection between non-violence and constructive programme, and that their faith in the constructive programme is evidenced in regular spinning and habitual wearing of khadi, and insistence on the use of handmade articles and promotion of village industries and crafts, in the total abolition of untouchability, and in the insistence on communal unity.

The best thing perhaps would be for all provinces to have forms stating all these details which should be filled in by those intending to offer satyagraha in the presence of responsible Congress workers. Some provinces have already started this procedure. This will prevent a good deal of waste of time and money involved in postage.

Over and above the fulfilment of the aforesaid conditions, those who have not decided to give up their studies and who have not secured permission of their parents or guardians should not apply.

I would request the Press not to make unauthorized statements about satyagraha. Thus for instance the report that instructions have been sent to Delhi to suspend satyagraha is without foundation.

The Hitavada, 18-12-1940

[1] Issued by Mahadev Desai

[2] *Vide* pp. 1-3.

292. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 17, 1940

MY DEAR DR. MAHMUD,

Your kind letter and enclosure, both of which I read out to Bapu. He is delighted to hear you are better. But in return for having given your verdict against him[1] regarding the dispute over the handwriting between him and me he orders one year's restraint orders on you! I entirely share his view. You must not *dream* of courting arrest. Surely there is plenty of work to be done outside. And responsible guides outside are really essential when most people capable of giving the right lead and advice have gone to prison.

Of course the 'rumour'[2] was a fabrication. Bapu says, you should ask Dr. Shaukat as to who was really responsible for the muddle. He will be able to enlighten you.

Kindest regards and hoping you will soon be better,

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

PS.

Bapu's pressure remains within control so long as he does not overwork. But it is hard to control him nowadays. There is so much to be done!

From the original: Dr. Syed Mahmud Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also G.N. 5112

293. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SEVAGRAM,
December 17, 1940

This reply is just for your entertainment and mine. You have set down certain maxims without proving their truth. Why do you think sacrifice will harm or weaken the cause? I on the contrary believe that it will bring credit to the cause and lighten the effort. I can offer proof in support of this statement. What you say is mere inference and is incorrect. Will

[1] *Vide* p. 219.

[2] About Gandhiji's fast; *vide* also p. 189.

you now dare to say that Mahadev's going was objectionable? The Mayor's authority extends only to the Municipal limits of Bombay. Outside you have to win over people through arguments.

[From Gujarati)

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 179

294. LETTER TO P. B. GOLE

[Before *December 18, 1940*][1]

I have been told that you observe untouchability, practically according to the original formula which I had used for all caste Hindus. Obviously that is insufficient for Congressmen and specially Congress leaders. I had, therefore, said that if what was reported to me about your belief and practice was true, you should not offer civil disobedience.

When, however, Kishorelalbhai Mashruwala sent me a note that you had felt grieved, I at once invited you to come and see me and you were good enough to respond quickly. In the course of our talk I understood that your belief in the necessity of purging Hinduism of the canker of untouchability and the consequent belief in high caste and low caste and outcaste was as pure and as high as that of the tallest Congressman, but in your home you observe strict rules of purity, so that you exclude, irrespective of caste, from the domestic dining *chowka*, those who do not observe the same stiff rules that the members of your family do. This practice has nothing to do with untouchability and had no application to Harijans as such, and stood on its own footing. I also understood that outside the domestic circle, you acted precisely as any Congressman would act towards Harijans.[2]

I am sorry that in my ignorance I attributed to you and Dr. Parasnis a belief which neither of you entertains. I was delighted to find I had erred, and that I could claim you as members of the satyagraha band.

The Hindustan Times, 24-12-1940

[1] The letter was reported under the date-line "Nagpur, December 18".

[2] The source reported that it was with these words that Gandhiji "allowed P. B. Gole, ex-Congress Minister, C.P. and Berar, to offer satyagraha".

295. LETTER TO SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE[1]

[Before *December 19, 1940*][2]

You may continue what you are doing so long as you preserve peace. The whole question requires patient consideration.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-12-1940

296. DISCUSSION WITH G. D. BIRLA AND DEVDAS GANDHI

December 18/19, 1940

I was with Gandhiji at Wardha for two days, that is, on the 18th and the 19th December. . . .

I asked him what was his next plan. He has already informed the Viceroy of it. The next stage will continue for another three months. During that period nearly 10,000 persons will be in. All names will be properly scrutinized. "What after that?", I asked.

[GANDHIJI:] There is to be no stage after that. It will continue indefinitely and I will send in as many as I can. Sometimes I get a little worried about the mentality of our young men. I know they are impatient. They might do something stupid. Communism appeals to youth, unfortunately.

I replied that in the past whenever satyagraha was in the field, communism disappeared for the time being only to reappear after its suppression. He agreed. . . .

He is anxious to send Mahadev in. I tried to persuade him not to send Mahadev. Gandhiji will be virtually a cripple without him. Mahadev very strongly feels that his absence may be harmful for Gandhiji's health. Pyarelal is already in. Therefore Mahadev thinks he must be kept out. But Gandhiji disagrees:

It is a movement of self-purification, not for embarrassing anyone. As such, I must sacrifice my best. I needed Mahadev

[1] & [2] The addresse, ex-President, All-India Trade Union Congress, had sought Gandhiji's advice as he had not been arrested "in spite of offering satyagraha repeatedly". The letter was reported under the date-line "Calcutta, December 19".

out for various other noble missions. This has enhanced his value further. But all the more reason, therefore, for sending him in since the sacrifice will be still greater.

I then related to him how I was told in Bombay that Sardar Patel and others in Yeravda were quite cheerful and comfortable. I told him that there was too much restriction about interviews about which I had spoken to the Governor of Bombay. He was glad to hear that they were all comfortable.

Devdas at this stage pointed out that things in Madras were different. Rajaji was locked up at night. Interviews were not allowed to last more than 20 minutes. And the C.I.D. remained present at the time of interviews. I said, I would bring this matter to the notice of H.E. But Gandhiji said, there was not much to complain against. After all, jail was jail and one could not expect much while in. If all kinds of freedom was allowed, then there would be no imprisonment in a sense. All said, he thought, Government was fighting in a gentlemanly way. I was glad to hear this tribute to the Government. Good relation is a great thing and its value can never be over-estimated.

I gave my impression of the Viceroy's speech[1]. Devdas at this stage read H.E.'s Calcutta speech to Gandhiji who had not yet read it fully. He listened to it very carefully. After Devdas finished the reading, I asked Gandhiji what his reaction to it was. Gandhiji said, it was very cordial, but no advance. He related some of his old talks with the Viceroy and then remarked:

But the Viceroy believes very strongly in his own views. I could never dislodge him from his own position.

I then told him what I had suggested to Sir Roger Lumley. Here is the gist:[2]

> Referring to the failure of an agreement, I said, I felt that to a great extent the failure might be attributed to mutual misunderstanding.

[1] The reference is to the Viceroy's speech at Associated Chambers o Commerce in Calcutta on December 16. According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1940*, Vol. II, p. 364, both this and the speech by L. S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, at a luncheon in London on December 12, reiterated the proposals outlined in the Viceroy's statement of August 8 (*vide* Vol. LXXII, Appendix VII), which "devised a national government for India—a government associated through the War Advisory Council with the Indian States—that will contain itself the representatives of those great parties and communities that will exercise full and real influence on the conduct of the war, leading to the post-war discussions . . . the final settlement of those intricate questions, whether between the communities here or between British Indian States, or between India and His Majesty's Government. . ."

[2] Only an extract is reproduced here.

Perhaps it was due to this reason that Gandhiji had to write to Lord Irwin when he went to negotiate a pact with him: "I want to see Irwin the man." . . . With reference to the offer of Dominion Status . . . Mr. Amery's speech[1] on the Viceroy's statement has created an impression that since so many conditions were attached to the offer, it was impossible of achievement. One could even reconcile to separation, but it was difficult to reconcile to a position which implies no advance until Muslims gave their consent. . . . Discussing the solution for ending the present impasse, I suggested immediate expansion of the Viceroy's Council by taking in men who were neither Congressmen nor Leaguemen but who would command respect. . . . I gave a few names and said could give more.

I told Gandhiji that in my opinion such an expansion would be useful in more than one way. It should definitely end the deadlock. I argued that even if we got national government, Congress would not associate itself with war efforts unless it was prepared again to give up Gandhiji's leadership. But giving up Gandhiji's leadership once more may not now be possible for the Congress. Therefore, for all practical purposes, Congress may be ruled out even for a national government. On different grounds, perhaps the League also could be ruled out. But why wait only for these two parties? If Government, as is suggested, were really anxious about their efforts to lead India towards her goal, then why not begin? I admitted that the success of this scheme depended on the selection of really good men, who though might not command the confidence of the Congress or the League but who at least command respect not only of these two political parties but of the country at large. In the second place all the important portfolios like Law and Order, Commerce, Finance, War Supplies, Defence, Railways, etc., were transferred to these men.

Gandhiji's reaction was not unsatisfactory. He said, he would appreciate this provided Government at the Centre was made virtually a representative government. It may not be responsible but the men so chosen should at least be of a representative character. He realized the difficulty of getting independent men from outside the two parties, but I gave him a few names and he thought they may not be a bad selection.

He agreed that in view of the war exigencies His Majesty's Government would not be able at this stage to go beyond this and he would not quarrel if they did not go beyond this. I, of course, was assuming that no Executive Council composed of such men could afford to keep political leaders in jail, nor could they afford to shut their mouth. Smuts could not shut the mouth of Hertzog and yet war effort of South Africa continued. Similarly,

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 245.

war efforts in India could continue with greater force under my plan. They would definitely be accelerated. Freedom of speech will be there, but once the freedom is given I am sure it will not be abused.

Devdas was not prepared for Gandhiji's good reaction. For clarification, he intervened: "What of the war effort? Will it continue? And will the Congress tolerate it?" Gandhiji said:

Yes, they will. Even today they do. It will all be voluntary, There will be no coercion. And freedom of speech will have been allowed. After all, the main idea of the Congress is not to allow the civil population to become war-minded. It is not desired that Government should be embarrassed. Besides, even today the whole country is not anti-war-minded. There are people who sincerely believe in waging war. The mission of the Congress is only to educate people. If the Congress could at any time make the whole nation unwar-minded, who could force them to fight? But today it is not so. Therefore why should we grudge war-minded people associating with war?

I pointed out that such a Cabinet may also be able to build a bridge between Hindus and Muslims and also could do the spade work for setting the stage for Constitution-making after the war. He said:

Yes, perhaps.

I asked him if there was no danger that the freedom of speech granted by a representative government may be abused. He did not think so. But at the same time he said that the law was there to punish any such violation. Congress would not tolerate any abuse on the part of its people.

The question of provinces would still remain unsettled but perhaps the lull would give us a breathing ground for the next step.

I suggested why not cry a halt for six weeks before taking the next step?

But the next step is already taken. It could, of course, be stopped, if so desired by the Government.

From a copy: C.W. 7860. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

297. *STATEMENT TO THE PRESS*

WARDHA,
December 20, 1940

Sardar Sampuran Singh has seen me with reference to the statement[1] I published on his conduct at his recent trial. Though what I said about my not passing men like him is true, I

[1] *Vide* pp. 212-3.

recognize that he was permitted by the Provincial Congress Committee to offer civil disobedience and from that he had taken it for granted that permission must have been given under my instance. I recognize, therefore, that he was fully justified in offering satyagraha in so far as permission was concerned.

Nevertheless his conduct at the trial was wholly unjustified and I believe that Sardarji now understands and appreciates the meaning of my criticism. He understands, too, that no one can legitimately say that he believes in non-violence by way of discipline. Whatever the contents of one's non-violence, either one believes or one does not. Sardarji now realizes this simple truth. I have shown him now that the obvious blunder into which he was betrayed could be repaired. He is considering my suggestion. I would, therefore, ask the public to suspend final judgment about Sardar Sampuran Singh's conduct.

Sardarji tells me that in the Punjab, so far as he knows, no one believes in non-violence except as a matter of discipline. If this is true it is a most serious matter and I would advise every such person to withdraw from the field. I could not possibly lead Congress to success if they do not believe even in Congress fundamental policy or creed except by way of discipline. He enlists because he knows the art of soldiering and believes in it. But after having enlisted he comes under iron discipline that is justly exacted from every soldier if the battle in which he is engaged is to be won. That our fight is non-violent makes no difference or rather the difference is all in favour of stricter discipline and willing obedience to it.

The Hitavada, 22-12-1940

298. *LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

SEVAGRAM,
December 20, 1940

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have spoken to Vaidyaji about water. I am trying to set up a cistern. Till then, boiled water should be given for gargling. Vessels should be finally washed in boiled water. This won't need much water. Sushilabehn is coming day after tomorrow; consult her also.

We cannot serve food to visitors and others. We have to plead helplessness if they ask for food. It would be a duty to give it to

an ignorant and hungry traveller from afar. Milk and ghee should be given to none. Roti, oil, raw vegetable, etc., may be given.

We can order one book from the Sasta [Sahitya] Mandal.

We have one copy of *Ramayana* in bold letters, it may be given to Ramnarayan[1]. We can get books worth a couple of annas for the children.

Your question regarding Ramanama has not been answered. When I say I remember the name all the twenty-four hours, it does not mean I am explicitly aware of the same. But it is my resolve that it should continue throughout the twenty-four hours like the act of breathing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4365

299. MESSAGE TO KHADI EXHIBITION

[Before *December 21, 1940*][2]

I earnestly hope that the Khadi Exhibition will prove a great success and that the citizens of Bombay will give a befitting response to it. For the success of the present satyagraha movement, it is essential for the general public to patronize khadi.

The Hindu, 23-12-1940

300. LETTER TO C. A. TULPULE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 21, 1940

DEAR SHRI TULPULE,

Your note to Gandhiji has come. He says that unless you have anything of urgent importance to say to him, he will be grateful if you will spare him. He is far from well—has to conserve his energy to the utmost and is advised by doctors to talk as little as possible. Of course, you may see

[1] Ramnarayan Chowdhary of Rajasthan

[2] The exhibition was opened on December 21 by Mathuradas Trikumji, Mayor of Bombay.

Maganwadi at any time. Do make an appointment with Shri J. C. Kumarappa for this.

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

SHRI C. A. TULPULE
TILAK ROAD
POONA CITY

From the original: C.W. 2903. Courtesy: C. A. Tulpule

301. LETTER TO CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD[1]

WARDHA,
December 21, 1940

I am sorry I have not been able to acknowledge your letter earlier. But I hope that Chaturvedi[2] showed you my letter to him which contains my view on what should be done. I sent you copies of correspondence[3] with the principal which speaks for itself. I have no manner of doubt that unless he withdraws the offending circular and revises his view of communalism, he is unfit to be a teacher. No apology, unless it shows signs of a definite change of heart, can possibly be accepted. In my opinion you owe it to yourselves, you owe it to India that you do not directly or indirectly support an institution which has a principal holding the views that Chatterjee does.

Please share this with Mr. Schiff.

Home, Political, File No. 3/33/40-Poll. (1). Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] The letter is given under a note: "Secret. Copy of an intercepted letter dated December 21, 1940, from M. K. Gandhi, Sevagram, Wardha, C.P., to Professor Christopher Ackroyd, Secretary, S.P.G. Mission, Head of the Brotherhood, Kanpur."

[2] President, Kanpur Students' Union

[3] *Vide* pp. 217-8 and 229-30.

302. INTERVIEW TO ALL-INDIA STUDENTS' CONFERENCE DELEGATION FROM MADRAS[1]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 21, 1940

The students discussed with Gandhiji many problems regarding strikes. Gandhiji advised the students to find a better alternative of expressing their protest, such as demonstrations and meetings outside college hours. If they resolved to strike, they must be prepared for all consequences including giving up of their studies. Gandhiji was afraid that the present-day strikes had no determined will behind them and, therefore, did not carry the students very far in the struggle against imperialism. In his opinion, the most effective form of protest was to leave the colleges instead of resorting to half-way methods.

Regarding the Annamalainagar incidents (relating to the arrest of students) Gandhiji was definitely of opinion that in case the Government did not hold an impartial enquiry, the students concerned should completely boycott the University because of the gross violation of the elementary rights of students. Gandhiji hoped that the Government would revise its attitude and hold an impartial enquiry fully realizing the gravity of the situation.

The Hindu, 4-1-1941

303. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

December 21, 1940

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

When Ramanama becomes as natural as breathing, it does not obstruct but helps other work, just as the tune of the *tambura* sustains other tunes. Ramanama does not amount to doing two jobs at a time. The eye does its work and the ear its own. All these organs work in harmony.

Now you will realize how Ramanama makes my work easy and brings it to fruition. Its effect cannot be described; it can only be experienced.

[1] This was communicated by R. Achuthan, General Secretary, Madras Students' Organization, Madras.

Brahmacharya and ahimsa constitute physical penance. I too had doubts on this score, but now there is none. Both the disciplines pertain to the body. Mental passion leads to physical desire. Similarly, anger and other violent feelings affect the body. *Brahmacharya* and ahimsa would have no meaning in the absence of the body. Thus both are qualities dependent on the body and are related to other bodies.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4365

304. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

December 23, 1940

CHI. SHARMA,

Your name is already with me. But why should I send you [to jail] as long as I wish to take constructive work from you? And how can I send you unless you become a social animal? Tell me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, p. 294

305. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 23, 1940

BHAI SATIS BABU,

Why did you give money to Harilal and how much did you give? It has done him no good. It was all spent on drinks.

What you write about Annada is right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2733

306. CABLE TO AGATHA HARIRISON[1]

[On or before *December 24, 1940*][2]

MY HEALTH PASSABLE. SITUATION DEMANDS TIME. MOVING WITH GREATEST CAUTION. WHITEHALL, CALCUTTA DECLARATIONS[3] IGNORE SOLID FACTS. LOVE.

Home, Political, File No. 3/33/40-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

307. LETTER TO ADOLF HITLER[4]

WARDHA,
December 24, 1940

DEAR FRIEND,

That I address you as a friend is no formality. I own no foes. My business in life has been for the past 33 years to enlist the friendship of the whole of humanity by befriending mankind, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

I hope you will have the time and desire to know how a good portion of humanity who have been living under the influence of that doctrine of universal friendship view your action. We have no doubt about your bravery or devotion to your fatherland, nor do we believe that you are the monster described by your opponents. But your own writings and pronouncements and those of your friends and admirers leave no room for doubt that many of your acts are monstrous and unbecoming of human dignity, especially in the estimation of men like me who believe in universal friendliness. Such are your humiliation of Czechoslovakia, the rape of Poland

[1] Secretary of a small group of Quakers known as India Conciliation Group

[2] From the reference to this cable in an unofficial note No. 8/P.F.(D)/40-II, dated December 28, by the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, which referred to its earlier unofficial note No. 8/P.F.(D)/40-III, dated December 24, on the telegram

[3] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 245.

[4] This letter was suppressed by the Government of India; *vide* "Letter to Agatha Harrison", 17-1-1941, and also the following item. Earlier Gandhiji had written to Adolf Hitler on July 23, 1939; *vide* Vol. LXX, pp. 20-1.

and the swallowing of Denmark. I am aware that your view of life regards such spoliations as virtuous acts. But we have been taught from childhood to regard them as acts degrading humanity. Hence we cannot possibly wish success to your arms.

But ours is a unique position. We resist British Imperialism no less than Nazism. If there is a difference, it is in degree. One-fifth of the human race has been brought under the British heel by means that will not bear scrutiny. Our resistance to it does not mean harm to the British people. We seek to convert them, not to defeat them on the battle-field. Ours is an unarmed revolt against the British rule. But whether we convert them or not, we are determined to make their rule impossible by non-violent non-co-operation. It is a method in its nature indefensible. It is based on the knowledge that no spoliator can compass his end without a certain degree of co-operation, willing or compulsory, of the victim. Our rulers may have our land and bodies but not our souls. They can have the former only by complete destruction of every Indian—man, woman and child. That all may not rise to that degree of heroism and that a fair amount of frightfulness can bend the back of revolt is true but the argument would be beside the point. For, if a fair number of men and women be found in India who would be prepared without any ill will against the spoliators to lay down their lives rather than bend the knee to them, they would have shown the way to freedom from the tyranny of violence. I ask you to believe me when I say that you will find an unexpected number of such men and women in India. They have been having that training for the past 20 years.

We have been trying for the past half a century to throw off the British rule. The movement of independence has been never so strong as now. The most powerful political organization, I mean the Indian National Congress, is trying to achieve this end. We have attained a very fair measure of success through non-violent effort. We were groping for the right means to combat the most organized violence in the world which the British power represents. You have challenged it. It remains to be seen which is the better organized, the German or the British. We know what the British heel means for us and the non-European races of the world. But we would never wish to end the British rule with German aid. We have found in non-violence a force which, if organized, can without doubt match itself against a combination of all the most violent forces in the world. In non-violent technique, as I have said, there is no such thing as defeat. It is all 'do or die' without killing or hurting. It can be used

practically without money and obviously without the aid of science of destruction which you have brought to such perfection. It is a marvel to me that you do not see that it is nobody's monopoly. If not the British, some other power will certainly improve upon your method and beat you with your own weapon. You are leaving no legacy to your people of which they would feel proud. They cannot take pride in a recital of cruel deed, however skilfully planned. I, therefore, appeal to you in the name of humanity to stop the war. You will lose nothing by referring all the matters of dispute between you and Great Britain to an international tribunal of your joint choice. If you attain success in the war, it will not prove that you were in the right. It will only prove that your power of destruction was greater. Whereas an award by an impartial tribunal will show as far as it is humanly possible which party was in the right.

You know that not long ago I made an appeal[1] to every Briton to accept my method of non-violent resistance. I did it because the British know me as a friend though a rebel. I am a stranger to you and your people. I have not the courage to make you the appeal I made to every Briton. Not that it would not apply to you with the same force as to the British. But my present proposal is much simple because much more practical and familiar.

During this season when the hearts of the peoples of Europe yearn for peace, we have suspended even our own peaceful struggle.[2] Is it too much to ask you to make an effort for peace during a time which may mean nothing to you personally but which must mean much to the millions of Europeans whose dumb cry for peace I hear, for my ears are attunded to hearing the dumb millions? I had intended to address a joint appeal to you and Signor Mussolini, whom I had the privilege of meeting[3] when I was in Rome during my visit to England as a delegate to the Round Table Conference. I hope that he will take this as addressed to him also with the necessary changes.

I am,
Your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 7861. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXII, pp. 229-31.
[2] Gandhiji ordered suspension of the satyagraha movement during Christmas; *vide* p. 241.
[3] On December 12, 1931; *vide* Vol. XLVIII, pp. 429-30, 434 and 466.

308. TELEGRAM TO SIR J. G. LAITHWAITE

December 24, 1940

OPEN LETTER[1] TO HERR HITLER BEING SENT TO PRESS. HOPE HIS EXCELLENCY COULD ALLOW IT QUICK PASSAGE TO THE WEST.[2]

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

309. LETTER TO NRIPENDRA NATH SIRCAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 24, 1940

DEAR SIR NRIPEN,

I have your letter. I would gladly sign for it. I allow my name to be exploited for raising money. Sir P. C. Ray's I hold to be much fitter than mine for such exploitation. I know that when I was in my teens he was already spending himself whether it was for poor students or anybody else. Yet I must resolutely refuse to lend by name to the appeal unless you have a private meeting of would-be subscribers and get the minimum in cash. I have a tragic experience of such appeals being made, widely signed and yet falling flat. I would far rather that no appeal for funds was made in the proud name of India's great scientist-philanthropist than that the appeal having been made, should fall flat. Therefore canvass amongst those who will sign the appeal.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The addressee, in his reply dated December 27, *inter alia*, said: "He has only just seen your open letter but with great regret finds himself quite unable to accept the statements contained in it as in any way a fair representation of the relations of great Britain with India, which has so greatly benefited over so long a period of years from association with the empire, and between which and the forces of aggression outside there stands today only the empire's strength. It is not possible for him, in these circumstances, to give you the assistance for which you ask in connection with it." *Vide* also "Letter to Sir J. G. Laithwaite", pp. 266-7.

Bag the money from them. Wire how much you have bagged and if it is a worthy sum you shall have my signature. Otherwise not.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

310. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
December 24, 1940

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

Do go to Bhavnagar. Everything will be all right at Poona. I am writing to Nalini.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR PRITHVI SINGH
C/o SHRI VAISHAMPAYANJI
"VANDEMATARAM"
787 SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5644. Also C.W. 2935. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

311. LETTER TO DUNICHAND[1]

[Before *December 25, 1940*][2]

Mahatma Gandhi in a letter to me has conveyed that only those persons are eligible to offer satyagraha who strictly conform to the following conditions:

1. They are habitual and regular spinners.
2. They are habitual khadi-wearers.

[1] & [2] The addressee, a Member of the Legislative Assembly, and President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, had quoted the letter in a statement to the Press in which he had appealed "to all concerned to make a careful note of the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi and save the good name of the Punjab". The statement was reported under the date line "Lahore, December 25".

3. They believe in the necessity of communal unity and removal of untouchability in every shape and form.

4. They believe in the necessity of supporting village handicrafts and swadeshi in everything.

5. They believe that swaraj for the millions is unattainable without non-violence.

6. They believe in the Bombay resolution of the All-India Congress Committee.

7. They believe in an inevitable connection between the above mentioned points and non-violence.

Mahatma Gandhi stresses that nobody is obliged to court imprisonment merely as a matter of discipline. Civil disobedience thus becomes a matter of inviolable faith and not discipline. Congress does not—at least Mahatma Gandhi does not—expect anybody to offer civil disobedience who does not believe in the urgency of it. Mahatma Gandhi considers it disgraceful for any Congressman to say that he offers civil resistance for the sake of mere discipline. He has further stressed that lukewarm adherence to the Congress brings us no nearer to our goal; nor can half-hearted political belief in the Congress programme, he says, answer the purpose.

Those who do constructive work are just as good as civil resisters and by their faith and devotion to service, he says, they are rendering greater service to the cause of civil resistance than civil resisters of doubtful complexion.

Mahatma Gandhi has stressed that we shall reach our goal if civil resistance has the backing of the nation in the shape of conformity to the constructive programme. Quality is the thing which is required in the fight and not quantity; of course, both combined would be welcomed.

The Hindu, 26-12-1940

312. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
December 25, 1940

BHAI VALLABHRAM,

I got your letter. You may come over whenever you wish. I do not like the idea about Nasik. You will not get the real thing there. Nevertheless, Jivanlalbhai[1] is a gentleman. Nasik is a good place. Of course, there are hardships here, but you will get nowhere else the experience you will get here. To live among persons of different temperaments and to devote yourself to the

[1] Jivanlal Motichand Shah

study of herbs are both difficult tasks. If you are weak, how can you be called a vaid? Perhaps your health too may improve only here.

Blessings from
BAPU

VAIDRAJ SHRI VALLABHRAM
DHANVANTARI AYURVED HOSPITAL
159 PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY-2

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2909. Courtesy: Vallabhram Vaidya

313. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
December 26, 1940

CHI. AMRIT,

I have your promised wire. I was glad. Everything going well.

You will know the contents of your parcel. Evidently it was a conspiracy. Why should there be prunes? Do you know that the bottles cost a lot in transit? But you will retort, 'Love counts not the cost'.

Hitler letter[1] not yet published.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3955. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7304

314. MESSAGE TO ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE[2]

[On or before *December 27, 1940*][3]

I have already pointed out the royal road to swaraj to my sisters where they can go ahead of their brothers. By traversing this road they can achieve fulfilment.

From a copy: C.W. 10363. Courtesy: All-India Women's Conference

[1] *Vide* pp. 253-5.

[2] & [3] The message was sent for the annual session which was held at Bangalore from December 27 to 30, 1940.

315. LETTER TO U. A. ASRANI AND B. L. TRIPATHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 27, 1940

DEAR FRIENDS,

I like your letter and offer.[1] I shall treasure your names and will send you in when I find it necessary. Meanwhile go on with the constructive work.

I hope you are yourselves spinning with faith and organizing it among the students.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

316. LETTER TO MRS. RALLIA RAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 27, 1940

DEAR SISTER,

Gandhiji is thankful to you for your letter of the 24th. He reciprocates the season's greetings and hopes you will have a successful session.

Re. the cutting you have sent, this is the first time he has heard the allegation that he is conniving at the doings (or resolutions) of the Hindu Mahasabha. The columns of *Harijan* give the lie to it. Unfortunately *Harijan* is extinct at the present moment, and Gandhiji has no time to overtake everything that appears in the Press.

Yours sincerely,
MAHADEV DESAI

From the original: File No. 83. Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] The addressees, members of Banaras Hindu University staff, in their letter dated December 24, had sought Gandhiji's permission to take part in the satyagraha movement.

317. LETTER TO MAGANLAL AND MANJULA MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 27, 1940

CHI. MAGAN AND MANJULA,

Everyday I mean to write to you but cannot do so. Urmila is happy.

You should not mourn over Mother's death. Instead, you should be grateful to God that she has found peace at last.

I myself cut Urmila's hair today. She looks much better now. Her hair used to fall off a good deal.

It will take some time to get your house ready. But whenever you decide to come, I will arrange for a separate kitchen for you. Let me know in advance.

May your vow bear fruit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1611. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

318. LETTER TO ARTHUR MOORE

December 28, 1940

DEAR MR. MOORE[1],

Many thanks for your reasoned letter. I see that we cannot agree as to facts and, where we agree, we view them from different angles of vision. Therefore we must for the time being agree to differ. 'We shall know each other better when the mists have rolled away.' I know that our friendship can easily bear the strain of our differences.

With compliments of the season.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Editor, *The Statesman*

319. LETTER TO K. SURYAPRAKASA RAO

SEVAGRAM,
December 28, 1940

DEAR SHRI SURYAPRAKASA RAO,

Your postcard dated 24th instant. You must spin, wear khadi, learn Hindi and do some constructive work while retaining your present job.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 10275. Courtesy: K. Suryaprakasa Rao

320. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 28, 1940

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN,

I have just finished your convocation address which you so kindly sent me. I liked it very much. Your language is all your own. You will, however, let me say that I miss the strength which I would expect from your pen or speech. The message of non-violence demands the utmost strength without sting behind it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Mahatma, Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. 6, between pp. 8 and 9

321. LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 28, 1940

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

Why do you complain about my dealing directly with the Presidents and issuing Press notes? There is nothing irregular in this. And how cumbersome to do all these things through you? Mahadev might have sent you copies. But you will pity him if you saw him at work. And if and when he too goes!

You are overdue. I sent you a wire in reply to your letter. No reply and no Kripalani!

I hope you found Sucheta[1] in g[ood] he[alth].

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 10877. Courtesy: Girdhari Kripalani

322. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 28, 1940

CHI. PREMA,

I got your fine letter. I will forward it to Dhotre[2] and others and then to Narandas.

I have heard that Sushila[3] visited you. You must, therefore, have come to know everything. Bhagavat[4] also had written to me.

Sarojinidevi[5] also had told me that spinning, prayers and so on were going on regularly. I hope that all the women will come out [of jail] with good health after having acquired great skill in constructive work.

Prabhavati is here. She travelled a lot with Jayaprakash. She has been here for three days. Jayaprakash will come either today or tomorrow and take her away. She has benefited by your teaching and your guidance. She will start her work from January 1. She had gone out taking one month's leave.

Don't be guided by newspaper reports about my health. I am quite all right. I am taking care of my health. So long as God wishes to take work from me, He will keep me in health.

Ba is with me. She is calm. Lilavati is restraining her desire to come here.

Mahadev and others are fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10416. Also C.W. 6855. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] Addressee's wife
[2] Raghunath Shridhar Dhotre, Secretary, Gandhi Seva Sangh
[3] Sushila Pai
[4] Manager, Saswad Ashram
[5] Sarojini Naidu

323. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE[1]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 29, 1940

MY DEAR SUBHAS,

You are irrepressible whether ill or well. Do get well before going in for fireworks.

I have not been in consultation with Maulana Saheb. But, when I read in the papers about the decision, I could not help approving of it. I am surprised that you won't distinguish between discipline and indiscipline.

But I quite agree with you that either of you is more than a match for the Maulana Saheb as far as popularity is concerned. But a man has to put conscience before popularity. I know that in Bengal it is difficult to function effectively without you two. I know, too, that you can carry on even without the Congress. But the Congress has to manage somehow under the severe handicap.

Suresh[2] wrote to me that Sarat was coming. I have been waiting. He can come any time he chooses, and so can you too. You know, you will be well looked after here.

As for your Bloc[3] joining civil disobedience, I think, with the fundamental differences between you and me, it is not possible. Till one of us is converted to the other's view, we must sail in different boats, though their destination may appear, only appear, to be the same.

Meanwhile let us love one another, remaining members of the same family that we are.[4]

Yours,
BAPU

The Hindu, 24-2-1941

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated December 23; *vide* Appendix VI. Mukundlal Sircar, with Gandhiji's approval, released the correspondence to the Press.

[2] Suresh Chandra Banerjee

[3] All-India Forward Bloc

[4] In his reply dated January 10, 1941, Subhas Chandra Bose said: "I am glad to receive your letter . . . not so much for the contents, as for

324. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
December 29, 1940

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got your letters. It is enough for me that you understand my love. If you are ignorant, you alone are not to blame. I am equally to blame, am I not? Has not the education of all you brothers remained incomplete? I do not regret that. I am aware of it. You too have been the victims of my experiments. But is not that true of the whole of India? Critics say that I am destroying the country.

Pyarelal's statement contains pure truth. It was not drafted to prove anything.

The letter[1] to Hitler also was prompted from within. There is no bitterness in it at all. But it certainly states what I believe to be truth. Your scepticism in this regard does not pain me. It is a virtue to see only the good in others. But if we see the bad and still cover it up, isn't that a vice? Was it not I who used to sing 'God Save the King'? After much experience, I have come to see the darker side.

I have received the Government's reply[2]. I am sending you a copy of it. It is poisonous. I am in no hurry to see the letter to Hitler published. It is enough for me that you are ready. I will write to you when the time for you comes.

What you have said in the letter to Mahadev about your policy is correct. There is no need for you to stand alone. It is better to take a stand which others can share. I cannot send Mahadev to take your place. My suggestion was quite different.

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the clarification of your views. . . . It is not merely my personal desire to offer hearty and sincere co-operation, but it is the desire of many who stand with me. For doing this, it is neither necessary nor desirable to surrender or abandon our political principles and connections. . . . In the previous struggle, many worked shoulder to shoulder with ardent Gandhi-ites while differing from them on several important questions. Why should not this happen again? I beg of you to reconsider your decision. . . ." *Vide* also "Letter to Mukundalal Sircar", 16-2-1941.

[1] *Vide* pp. 253-5.

[2] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 256; also the following item.

But that also cannot be done now. You may play whatever part you can. This is but the beginning of the country's fight. The worst is yet to come. Let us see how long God keeps me. God knows what work He wants from me. I merely dance to His tune.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2023

325. *LETTER TO SIR J. G. LAITHWAITE*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 30, 1940

DEAR MR. LAITHWAITE,

I thank you for your letter[1] of 27th instant, received yesterday.

Your letter raises a fundamental question. I can fully appreciate the fact that His Excellency could only hold the view he does. The despair of Indian nationalists like me has been that British functionaries could not be persuaded to see the other side of the shield. And so the distance between them and nationalists is growing in spite of all efforts to the contrary. The present struggle is the latest attempt among many to induce the makers of the British Empire to see things through nationalist eyes. Such attempt must be continued till the truth is brought home to them. Why should they constitute themselves the judges of their work among and on us? The ordinary rule is that those should be the final judges who are the beneficiaries and not the self-styled benefactors. But I must not enter into the interminable discussion of a question on which the British rulers and we must for the present differ.

But that difference can be no reason for gagging me. I sought for the assistance because all the means of communication are under the Government control. I was unprepared for the prohibition against the Indian Press. I was prepared for the gag outside. His Excellency must be the sole judge of the effect on the *bona-fide* war effort of my letter to Herr Hitler being published in the world in the manner I had intended. But I observe from your letter that the gag has been placed not for reasons of high policy but because, in His Excellency's opinion, my characterization of British rule is not true to facts. This is a dangerous doctrine of which the logical result would be suppression of all honest opinion

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 256.

except at the will of the executive head of the State or his deputy or deputies. This has evidently no bearing on the war issue. I may draw His Excellency's attention to the fact that the sentiments expressed by me in the open letter to Herr Hitler are those I have expressed often enough in the columns of *Harijan* and elsewhere. My booklet called *Hind Swaraj*[1] or *Indian Home Rule* contains similar sentiments.

I should like to know, if I may, whether my interpretation of your letter is correct.

I may mention that I had copies of the letter prepared for distribution to the Press. But owing to the Press Adviser's note I refrained from distributing the copies. I have sent a copy only to my son forbidding its publication for the time being. I do not want surreptitious publication, nor do I want to resort to open defiance, so long as it is at all possible consistently with the interests of the national cause as I conceive it. I shall, therefore, anxiously await a line from you.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

326. LETTER TO GLADYS OWEN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 30, 1940

MY DEAR GLADYS,

Your letter. Though we are crowded, I shall squeeze you in. Do come on the 5th whenever you like.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G. N. 6197

[1] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-68.

[2] For the addressee's reply; *vide* Appendix VII.

327. LETTER TO LAKSHMI SATYAMURTI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
December 30, 1940

MY DEAR LAXMI,

I must forgive you for writing in English. But you must hurry up with your Hindi. Tell Father[1], it will be a shame if he does not fully recover during the rest he has imposed on himself.

Love.

BAPU

KUMARI LAKSHMI
C/o SHRI S. SATYAMURTI
TYAGARAYANAGAR
MADRAS

From the original: S. Satyamurti Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also C.W. 10276. Courtesy: Government of Tamil Nadu

328. LETTER TO MOHAMMAD DILAWAR KHAN[2]

December 30, 1940

DEAR FRIEND,

Yes, Shri Khurshedbehn[3] talked a great deal about you and your kindness. May I send a copy of your letter[4] to your friends?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] S. Satyamurti, a political prisoner, undergoing treatment in General Hospital, Madras

[2] Deputy Commissioner of Bannu, North-West Frontier Province

[3] Khurshed Naoroji, grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

[4] In this, dated December 24, the addressee had complained about the unhelpful attitude of the local Congress Committee members in restoring law and order in the area.

329. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
1940[1]

CHI. MANILAL,

Sister Mary Barr is one of our hard working co-workers. Take her home. Give her whatever help she needs.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4916

330. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

Silence Day [*1940*][2]

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Did you send for Mathuradas[3] to explain to him his work? If not, when do you intend to send for him?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10662

331. LETTER TO ARUN CHANDRA GUHA[4]

[On or before *January 2, 1941*][5]

No quantity please. I can assure victory, if the quality is assured.

The battle has just begun, and it will be a long and arduous affair.

The Hindu, 4-1-1941

[1] As in the source

[2] In the G. N. series, the letter has been placed last among those of 1940.

[3] Mathuradas Purushottam

[4] & [5] The letter was in reply to the one from the addressee, Secretary, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, in connection with the preparation of a list of satyagrahis in the province. The letter was reported under the date-line "Calcutta, January 2".

332. LETTER TO K. SURYAPRAKASA RAO

January 2, 1941

You need not join the Society referred to in your letter. You can remain independent and do some constructive work without joining any society.[1]

With blessings.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 10384. Courtesy: K. Suryaprakasa Rao

333. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 2, 1941

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I was very happy to read your letter. Be careful about your diet and safeguard your health. I am certain you will pay the money.[2] How is Kanti?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 9744. Also C. W. 724. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

334. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

January 2, 1941

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your two quite lengthy letters together. It is of course commendable that you two are holding out by yourselves. He who is on the side of truth, though alone, is in company, and those who oppose truth, though millions in number, count for little.

[1] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 262.

[2] The addressee had contracted tuberculosis and was sent to Mysore Sanatorium for treatment.

Tari is with me for the last three days. She is pretty ill. She will leave for Delhi on the 5th, the fourth day from now. She will go with Dr. Sushila, who is here. Most probably Tara's friend will also go with her. Manudi is still here. Her daughter[1] is a very active and playful child. With Sharda's son and Nirmala's daughter, thus there are three children.

Ba is fairly well. She keeps on working.

There is hardly standing room in the Ashram, so to say. It remains overcrowded.

Yesterday I called over Janakidevi here. She has got piles. She has started fasting from today.

Kishorelal is all right at present.

What need I say about myself?

There was a letter from Schlesin[2]. There has been none from Kallenbach[3] for some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4919

335. LETTER TO SATHYE

January 4, 1941

DEAR DR. SATHYE,

Your yarn [is] excellent. I hope you will keep good health in the Liberty Hall.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7919

[1] Urmila Mashruwala

[2] Sonja Schlesin, who was Gandhiji's secretary; *vide* Vol. XXIX, pp. 145-7.

[3] Hermann Kallenbach, German architect, who was an associate of Gandhiji in South Africa

336. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 4, 1941

CHI. AMBUJAM[1],

I got your letter and the book. The book is fine. It is good you are continuing Hindi and spinning. You have to give up grief. Leave all joys and sorrows to God. Ranganayaki is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: Ambujammal Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also C.W. 9616. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

337. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

WARDHA,
[*January 5, 1941*][2]

CHI. AMBUJAM,

Your letter. I am getting a regular supply of fruit from you. You must let me know the price. If the fruit is dear, must get it from where it is cheap even when it is a gift. I have three sick beds just now.

Your argument is both sound and unsound. I would have the hospital in preference to superstition. But there is a middle way—to have intelligent home treatment and then await the result with confidence. Even kings have to die. Thousands die in hospitals. It is all a toss. The key to life is in God's hands. We can but explore His laws and obey them. And I do not expect a time when every villager who wishes can have good hospital treatment. But I do expect a time when he can have at his door competent advice. But even that time is far off.

[1] Daughter of S. Srinivasa Iyengar. The source has this in Devanagari.
[2] From the postmark

I hope you are all well.
Love.

BAPU

SRI AMBUJAM AMMAL
AMJADBAG
LUZ, MYLAPORE
MADRAS

From a photostat: C.W. 9615. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

338. *INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS*[1]

[On or after *January 5, 1941*][2]

A satyagrahi, man or woman, once started on satyagraha, if unarrested, shall not return home but shall go from village to village reciting anti-war slogans and addressing anti-war meetings where necessary and doing constructive propaganda.

If, on any account, he feels obliged to return home, he must seek special permission for offering satyagraha again.

Satyagrahi once unarrested need not issue a fresh notice to the District Magistrate.

Satyagrahi shall not use any conveyance on his campaign. He need not be in a hurry. He may proceed slowly and travel a short distance. He may, if necessary, stay more than one day at one place.

Satyagrahi must not stop any person or conveyance against their wishes nor must he enter anyone's compound to recite slogans unless invited to do so.

A satyagrahi shall not recite slogans in an authoritative tone but in a persuasive way.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-1-1941

[1] According to the source this was "issued to satyagrahis in Nagpur District by the President of the Nagpur District Congress Committee, under instructions from Gandhiji".

[2] Satyagraha was resumed on January 5, 1941, after its suspension during Christmas; *vide* p. 241.

339. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

SEVAGRAM,
January 6, 1941

BHAI TANDONJI,

I am writing this letter early in the morning before four o'clock prayer. Yesterday I had a talk with Shriman, Nanavati[1], Perinbehn[2], Dikshit[3] and Kakasaheb. Now Maulana is not coming. I feel that now I should get out of the Sammelan. A policy which I got accepted has been practically destroyed in Poona. The Sammelan had full powers to change it. The only question that remains is that of my duty. I am in a dilemma. Please come and help me in arriving at a decision. I do not want to run away from the Sammelan. But how do I stay in? I am for a composite language. The name does not matter. To me work is everything. If I stay in the Sammelan, I become a partner in retrogression. If I leave I may probably become the root cause of dissension. Come over soon, if you can.

Come, but take care of your health.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 10997

340. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

January 6, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA[4],

Why do you worry? Rajkumari had a talk with me. You need feel no shame in returning, nor will that do you any harm. It is folly to cling to a mistake after realizing it. Wisdom lies in rectifying it as soon as it is discovered. To one who loves a quiet life, the type of motley crowd we have here can be unbearable. You may prepare yourself better in Bombay and

[1] Amritlal Nanavati
[2] Perinbehn Captain
[3] Sitacharan Dikshit
[4] An eminent pathologist

then come over. If, having realized your mistake you immediately go back to Bombay, you may be able to come back after some months or after a year. In the mean time, whenever you wish to come for a few days, you will always be welcome. After hearing everything, I feel that you should leave right now and not let your health suffer. I want you to attain complete peace of mind so that you can serve to the best of your ability. You will be doing my work even in Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5742

341. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA[1]

[After *January 6, 1941*][2]

I am in no hurry at all. If you can preserve your peace of mind, by all means stay. You may go[3] and get well and come back after some time with the whole family. But this is only by way of suggestion. Your wish will be my wish.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5743

342. LETTER TO SIR ROBERT E. HOLLAND

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 7, 1941

DEAR MR. HOLLAND,

I thank you for your letter and the important information contained therein. You may depend upon my taking the necessary steps.

I shall be very happy to meet you, should you find it convenient to alight at Wardha on your way northward.

You will be sorry to learn that Manilal Kothari[4] is no more.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5666

[1]&[2] The letter was written on the one dated January 6, received from the addressee.

[3] To Bombay; *vide* the preceding item.

[4] He died in Ahmedabad on October 11, 1937.

343. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM,
January 8, 1941

BHAI SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. Jajuji[1] has written something. I have not read it. Whenever Annadaji wants to see it, show it to him without hesitation. I am sending these two slips of paper for perusal. They are not to be returned.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2738

344. INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS

SEVAGRAM,
January 10, 1941

A very serious question confronts me in connection with the struggle. In many places magistrates have been imposing heavy fines on civil resisters, in some cases without option of imprisonment. Civil resisters must not and cannot complain of whatever penalty is imposed on them, and Government will always take advantage of weaknesses of human nature. Hitherto I have advised that fines should not be voluntarily paid but that authorities must be left to collect fines by distraint. The result during the last struggle was a great deal of heart-burning and bitterness. Those who bought movables or immovables for a song incurred popular ill will. I hope that if Government wish to touch immovable property, they will not sell but confiscate it. For, whenever the struggle ends, immovable property is bound to be restored to the original owners—the resisters. The late Bombay Government knew how difficult it was for them to restore to the resisters the immovable properties that had changed hands. I have, however, discovered what may be termed a

[1] Shrikrishnadas Jaju, Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association

flaw in the reasoning that I had applied to the infliction of fines. I now feel that even as a resister courts imprisonment, he is expected to court any other form of punishment, i.e., fines. Punishment courted has to be joyfully suffered. Therefore when fines are imposed and the person fined is able to pay he must do so willingly. The result may naturally be that such a person will be fined again and again. If he persists in his resistance, he may have no property left. This is nothing to be wondered at. As a matter of fact it is the essence of civil disobedience that the resister becomes indifferent whether the authorities take away all his property or not. Therefore all propertied persons who wish to join the struggle should do so well knowing that the whole of their property may be taken up by the Government. This is a struggle which has no ending except in success. Therefore those who may be fined should pay cash if they have it. If they have no cash and the Government attach their property, it should be open to their friends to buy the same. This will be an effective check on the cupidity of those who would profit by exploiting others' loss and there will be no bad blood. One corrollary to this reasoning is that even as I had declared that every inch of immovable property sold or confiscated by the Government would have to be returned to the resisters, so will every rupee taken in fines have to be returned to them on the struggle ending. It follows of course that those who pay the fines will have to offer civil disobedience till they are safely lodged in jail. It follows also that those propertied persons who do not wish to run the risk of losing their property must not join this struggle. I hope however that patriotic people who believe in the efficacy of civil resistance will not fight shy of losing all their possessions. Let them remember the words of Sheth Jamnalal:

> I have long since come to realize that much too heavy a price has been and is being paid by the few for the enjoyment of wealth and for the apparent safety of life. The price paid is the blood of the famishing millions and the manliness of those who should be ready to shed their blood for the defence of themselves, their families and their country.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942. File No. 3/42/41-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

345. LETTER TO JAGANNATH[1]

January 10, 1941

I note your name. When your time comes I shall certainly send you. For the time being I want you to do constructive work.

BAPU

From a photostat: C. W. 986. Courtesy: Jagannath

346. MESSAGE TO THE PUNJAB CONGRESSMEN[2]

[On or after *January 10, 1941*][3]

Surely there is no cause for depression. I have never condemned Punjab Congressmen. I have faith that the average Congressman in the Punjab is as good as the average in the other provinces. Let the Punjab Congressmen take heart and qualify themselves by spinning, and regarding Harijans and other Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, etc., as blood-brothers. Let them have a living faith in the virtue of non-violence, and they will all be chosen for civil disobedience.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 988. Courtesy: Jagannath

[1] The addressee, a member of the Servants of the People Society, Lahore, in a letter dated "Sevagram, January 10, 1941" had requested Gandhiji to include him "in the list of satyagrahis from the Punjab".

[2&3] The message was sent through Jagannath who, in his letter dated January 10, requested: "A friend from Lahore who is a responsible and well-informed Congress worker and who is in constant touch with Congressmen all over the Punjab writes to me that the recent occurrences in the Punjab have depressed the hearts of Congressmen there and have created confusion in their minds and they are feeling that they may have fallen in your estimation and you may have despaired of them. A word from you will cheer them up. . . ."

347. INSTRUCTIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE DAY[1]

January 11, 1941

I hope that every man and woman in India, whether Congressman or other, will realize the gravity of the struggle and will resolve on the forthcoming Independence Day upon dedicating himself or herself to the service of the country in terms of the millions. Swaraj based on non-violence does not mean mere transfer of power. It should mean complete deliverance of the toiling yet starving millions from the dreadful evil of economic serfdom. This can only be attained by the propertied few identifying themselves with the millions and by their readiness to sacrifice their all for the latter's sake. It must be a day of fraternization, abolition of untouchability from our hearts, giving up spirituous liquors, self-spinning, and sale and spread of khadi and village industries. There is to be no civil disobedience that day. For, we must not invite disturbance of our meetings, processions and *prabhat pheries*[2] on that day. The day may begin with *prabhat pheries*, followed by flag-hoisting and flag-salutation. In the evening there may be processions terminating in public meetings where the pledge[3] may be explained clause by clause and administered by the Chairman and solemnly accepted by the audience. Where there are already restrictions they must be obeyed. From such voluntary obedience comes the strength for the right of civil resistance.

PLEDGE[4]

In view of the fact that individual civil disobedience has already commenced and that a large number of Congressmen have already been imprisoned all over India, it becomes the special duty of every Indian to concentrate with redoubled zeal on the constructive programme, without the fulfilment of which no civil

[1] Celebrated on January 26

[2] Literally, 'morning round'; parties going round early in the morning singing patriotic songs

[3]&[4] Of which only the last paragraph is reproduced here. The pledge was originally drafted by Gandhiji in January 1930; *vide* Vol. XLII, pp. 384-5. It was amended in December 1939, by the Congress Working Committee (*vide* Vol. LXXI, Appendix I), to which this paragraph was added.

disobedience, mass or individual, can help us to win and retain swaraj. Concretely expressed, constructive programme means the universalization of hand-spinning and khadi and popularization of village industries and village products. We recognize that effective spread of non-violence must bring communal harmony and complete eradication of untouchability in every shape and form.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942. File No. 3/42/41-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

348. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 11, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your wire has come in. I had fully intended to write yesterday. But it was no use. The interviews which began at 3 p.m. ended after the second dinner bell. So you were crowded out. But you had some letters redirected to you. That must have been some consolation.

I hope you are having a profitable time there[1]. You will insist on seeing Ambujam and on going to the Hindi Prachar Office.

Ascertain the prices of the fruit you bring. You will bring coconut of course. But bring lemons (sour) too. They are scarce in the Wardha market. Das's experiment is spreading. I have joined it with greater zeal than when you were here. I have given up cooked vegetables and the blood-pressure has dropped in a phenomenal manner. All the three times near or under 150 systolic and 100 diastolic. The reason is absence of gases.

The note[2] I was drafting was finished today. You may see it there or on your return journey.

Shastriji is better. Remember me to your hostess.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C. W. 3996. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7305

[1] In Madras

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

349. INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 12, 1941

Long before his unexpected arrest[1] Maulana Saheb had announced that before offering civil disobedience he would visit Sevagram and discuss with me important matters affecting the communal questions as also such other matters. But it was not to be. Non-popular rulers do not disclose their intentions to the people. They allow them to be inferred from their acts. Perhaps it is a legitimate inference to draw from Maulana Saheb's premature (from the Congress standpoint) arrest that they did not want him to meet me. There can be no cause for complaint in this. They may not be expected to consult Congress convenience. But it is proper for Congressmen to realize that the rulers have no faith in Congress non-violence. Probably they do not consider me to be a knave, but they do consider me to be a fool. In so doing they only follow many others who think that Congressmen fool me and that the latter's non-violence is but a cloak for hiding their violence, if it is not a preparation for it. Our struggle, therefore, consists in showing that our non-violence is neither a cloak to hide our violence or hatred, nor a preparation for violence in the near or distant future. Therefore our success depends not upon numbers going to jail but on the sum total of the purity and non-violence we are able to show in all our activities. Numbers can count only when they are of the right type. They will positively harm the movement, if they are of the wrong type.

For me there is no turning back, whether I have many or very few satyagrahis. I would far rather be regarded as a fool but strong, than as a knave and a coward. Though the whole world may repudiate my claim, I must repeat that the struggle is God-guided. I am but a humble instrument in His hand. Without His guidance, real or imaginary, I should feel utterly impotent to shoulder the burden I am supposed to be carrying.

Let me now say how I visualize the struggle. Maulana Saheb having gone, there is to be no successor appointed.

[1] On January 3

Every acting President in a province must be approved by me. It is not necessary that there should be one. All representative Congressmen from members of village to provincial Committees are expected to be in jail if they are fit and approved by me. If they are not, by reason of health or otherwise, they cannot be expected to function except in rare cases and that too under my approval. No fresh elections are to take place to replace those who will have gone. The idea is ultimately for every Congressman to act on his own and be his own president but nobody else's. That is the conception of a completely non-violent institution or society. Not much direction is required by those who have learnt the art of suffering. Everybody knows the conditions he has to fulfil for acquiring fitness for offering civil disobedience. They can be easily complied with by any adult who is sound in body and mind. No difficulty as to action arises so long as I am left free. For nobody can resort to direct action without my consent. My intention not to court arrest abides, but the rulers may have a different plan. If it comes, it will be the real time of freedom from external control be it ever so non-violent as also of true test for everyone. I am not to appoint a successor. Thus if I am arrested, everyone will be under the discipline of his or her own conscience. In theory, therefore, a time may come when millions will be judges of their own fitness to offer civil disobedience.

This is not a struggle which can be ended quickly. We are resisting an authority that is in itself struggling to fight for life against a stubborn foe. The authority is related to a nation which knows no defeat. Those whose life is in danger either readily yield on what they regard as non-essential, or fight to the end on what they regard as essential. Its refusal to concede our demand shows that they think that our struggle comes under the latter category. Therefore our struggle must be coterminous at least with the European. Hence everyone who offers civil disobedience and gets a short term should know that on every release he has to repeat civil disobedience till the end of the struggle.

There are two tactics demanding attention. I have already issued a note[1] about fines without the option of imprisonment.

The other is that of not arresting civil resisters at all. In each case the resisters should march on foot in easy stages in the

[1] *Vide* pp. 276-7.

direction of Delhi. It may be even two or three miles per day. The resister will march taking such food as the villagers may provide.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942. File No. 3/42/41-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

350. LETTER TO KRISHNANATH SARMA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 12, 1941

MY DEAR SARMA,

Please give my blessings to your bereaved daughter and tell her not to grieve over the inevitable. I am glad you are bearing the loss bravely. You should delay offering civil disobedience till your daughter has cal[med] down.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI K. N. SARMA, M.L.A.
BAR ASSOCIATION
JORHAT, ASSAM

From a photostat: G.N. 8233

351. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

January 13, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

As I sat down to reply to your letter of the 9th, I saw your letter of today. You have replied in this to your own previous letter. Ahimsa does not work in any other way. The defects that you have pointed out are there, but our Sangh is a mixed crowd. All sorts of people are there. If we can put up with them, we can bear with the world. If by keeping them with us we live happily, we can then some day hope for a complete non-violent order.

But there are certain rules we have to observe. The question is how to put these rules into practice. As long as I live, the way I put them into practice becomes our rule. Look, patience will solve all problems. Don't take to heart our shortcomings.

It is enough if you know that they exist. You are trying to remove them. You are bound to succeed.

Even then speak out your mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4368

352. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM[1]

[Before *January 14, 1941*][2]

DAUGHTER,

Why should you write a letter to me? If you keep well I shall value it more than a letter from you. I received Wahid's angry letter. If you saw it you would be able to judge his pain. I have not felt hurt on account of his anger. He has a right to be angry. I would now advise you to make all arrangements for Mother and return only after getting well yourself.

I am all right. Kanchan sleeps on one side and Abha on the other. Khan Saheb has written about you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 598

353. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

January 14, 1941

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

Of course I did hurt you, but I think what I did was right. There are letters to you from Rameshwar[3], Deva[4] and Anand[5].

[1] This was in reply to a letter from the addressee's brother, Abdul Wahid Khan, asking Gandhiji to send the addressee to look after her ailing mother.

[2] Inferred from the reference to ailing mother in this and the following item

[3] Rameshwardas Poddar

[4] Devdas Gandhi

[5] Anand T. Hingorani

I hope Mother is all right and that you had a comfortable journey. You must have met Sushila. I had sent a wire.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 465

354. CABLE TO CARL HEATH[1]

WARDHAGANJ,
[*January 15, 1941*][2]

HEATH
FRIENDS HOUSE
LONDON

M.P.S' LETTER[3] IGNORES FACTS. FRANK OPEN COMMUNICATION MADE IMPOSSIBLE. GOD BETWEEN US ALL.[4]

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1048

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's cable (G.N. 1047), received on December 22, 1940, which read: "Profoundly glad your truce. Think spontaneous unofficial document Members Parliament despite inadequacies deserves careful consideration and response as indicating deep desire break constitutional deadlock."

[2] From the postmark

[3] According to *Gandhi—1915-1948: A Detailed Chronology*, the letter dated December 23, 1940, from members of the British Parliament to the people of India said: "We are determined to give you full independence preceded by Dominion Status and in the mean time we shall have to make some temporary arrangements." *The Indian Annual Register, 1941*, Vol. I, p. 30, explains that a statement, signed by prominent Indian Liberals, the signatories to which included V. N. Chandavarkar, P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar and V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, was sent in reply to the letter on January 17, 1941. They held that "the British Government had so far failed to unify British and Indian interests and to inspire zeal for the British cause among the people of India." The signatories, however, hoped that the situation "could be improved beyond recognition if the British acted with vision and courage."

[4] *Vide* also "Letter to Carl Heath", 25-1-1941.

355. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 15, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your two letters to hand. You should take as much distilled water as you need. You should also take fruit liberally including prunes. The box-charkha was in your list. But you may let Kanaiyalal take it. Your letters give rise to many reflections. Mountains are not for us to live in. We can live on the plains by the riverside or the seaside. The hills are for the wealthy. You can surely find an abode (secluded) on the seaside or riverside.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6468. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9863

356. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

January 15, 1941

I agree with you in all the propositions you have laid down—neither[1] wants to be married just now. I have discovered the mutual attraction. The question is whether it may go on or whether the two should be separated. My opinion is there is no harm. If they remain unmarried, that is ideal. But if they cannot restrain themselves they should think of no one else. Your conditions are solid.

As to your son's books, I do not want to shoulder an indefinite responsibility.[2] You and I will be misusing public funds if we go beyond lawful bounds. The two households are a burden. You may discuss the whole thing with me.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1454. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] The reference is to Abha, the addressee's daughter, and Kanu Gandhi, son of Narandas Gandhi. They were married on November 7, 1944; *vide* also "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 5-3-1941.

[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 22-1-1941.

357. LETTER TO SIR J. G. LAITHWAITE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 16, 1941

DEAR SIR GILBERT,

Many thanks for your letter[1] of the 4th instant.

I am not going to write a serious reply to your extra serious letter. My letters are not written either for publication or for propaganda. They are written in pursuance of the effort to act non-violently. Nor are they written to a stranger. So much by way of preface.

The language of officialdom is evidently a thing to be learnt specially. Your letter is an instance in point. In my own plain English I resolve your language thus:

> I forgot to tell you that His Excellency's disagreement with you as to the estimate of the British connection was not the only reason for not complying with your request. It is inconvenient to give you the real or the whole reason. So please regard this correspondence as closed.

Putting this interpretation upon your letter and reading it together with the last paragraph in it, I have finally decided not to contrive to secure publicity of the open letter[2] to Herr Hitler. I have accordingly asked my son not to make any use of the letter but to destroy it.

I had told[3] you that I had not shown the letter to anyone else except my son. I have since shown it to an English friend[4] who believes in my method. She is not to make use of her knowledge except among friends such as the Bishop of Calcutta. My hearty co-operation with His Excellency in preventing publication does not mean admission of the validity of the prohibition. It is an earnest of my desire not to embarrass authority wherever it is possible for me to avoid embarrassment.

But the action of the Censor in prohibiting the enclosed[5] passes comprehension. I entertain the fond hope that His Excellency knows

[1] *Vide* Appendix VII.
[2] *Vide* pp. 253-5.
[3] *Vide* p. 267.
[4] Agatha Harrison; *vide* the following item.
[5] *Vide* "Instructions to Satyagrahis", pp. 276-7 and 281-3.

nothing of the Censor's action. I woulld like you very kindly to let me know whether it commands His Excellency's approval. If it does and if I am to fall in with it, it will stop all open communication with the public. That would constitute an undue interference with the liberty of the Press, and would raise a grave issue. I shall hope that if it is at all possible, this will be avoided.

As the matter is very urgent may I expect an early reply?[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: Lord Liniithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

358. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 17, 1941

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I have before me your letter of 30th October received yesterday. I do not write because I know not whether my letters will reach you at all. When they do they may be even out of date. And now one never knows what one may write. I do not mind the Censor reading what I write but I do mind his suppressing what one writes. And yet war is war. One must not grumble. Warriors want to win and they will not tolerate what in their opinion hinders their efforts. Knowing this, I am patient. I do not know what you can do. Here I am hampered at every step. I wrote what I thought was a good letter[2] to Herr Hitler. It has been suppressed. Of course I could secure publication at once. But I do not want to do so. I must bow to the Viceregal judgment. Evidently, he thinks it will interfere with their war-effort. Since open publication is possible only by their permission, I have deemed it proper not to seek publicity through defiance which must be initiated surreptitiously.

But they have gone a step further. They are interfering with local publication of my statements which are necessary. I am, therefore, devising a method of securing publication. But no matter what hindrances are put, the struggle will continue. I can give you this assurance, if you need it, that nothing

[1] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix VIII.
[2] *Vide* pp. 253-5.

unworthy, nothing that may be even remotely called violent will be knowingly done. I have absolute faith that this non-violence will finally triumph. It must not be allowed to be suppressed. The M.P.s' appeal has fallen flat.[1] It takes no note of the truth. Hindu-Muslim differences do not stand in the way of an honourable agreement. The will is not there. The old custom will not give way. They need not be blamed. They go on and, if they can, they do not stop to consider whether it is right or wrong. That is not rulers' way. Theirs is but to rule.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I am attending to your advice about Andrews's sisters.

From a photostat: G.N. 1517

359. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 17, 1941

CHI. SHARMA,

I got both your letters. You are invariably forgiven. If you insist I will allow you to go. You had better be patient since you are already engaged in work there. But still if you are restless, I am prepared to send you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, p. 295

360. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 18, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I have read your letter very carefully.[2] Why are you afraid of talking to me?

[1] *Vide* also pp. 285 and 295-7.

[2] The addressee had written that he wanted to leave the Ashram on account of differences of approach between him and other inmates.

I do not want to keep you here perforce. I can only be happy if you can live here willingly and in perfect peace. But I feel so long as you do not become one with Ashram life, your living here is useless. I also realize that he who has given up all fear has nothing to gain from the Ashram. So you have a full right to go where you wish to and do whatever you want to do. You always have my blessings. I know for certain that wherever you go and whatever you do ahimsa and truth will always be there. Keep writing to me, and give your address. And, if possible, keep me informed of your activities. Whenever you want to come back, do come. If you want to talk to me about this, do so. Why grieve, when we part with goodwill? Joy consists in performing one's duty.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2645. Also C.W. 2956. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

361. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

January 20, 1941

BHAI TANDONJI,

Please read the accompanying wire from Malaviyaji Maharaj and do what you think right. There was a wire from Prayag saying that they wish to oppose Radhakant[1]. I have already given my opinion, but all of you there should decide among yourselves. I am totally ignorant of the situation there.

Yours,

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Radhakant Malaviya, son of M. M. Malaviya

362. LETTER TO NILA NAGINI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 21, 1941

CHI. NILA[1],

I do hope you received my letter in reply to yours some days ago. Now I have another from you through Mr. Whittamore. He is a most lovable man. We all had a very profitable time with him.

You are doing good work there. Do ask Sirius[2] to write to me. Where do you propose to put him?

You will be welcome whenever you can come.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1218

363. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

January 21, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

How is it that there is no letter from you? Is it a case of 'out of sight, out of mind'? I will not, of course, take it in that light. I know that you are not writing because you do not want to waste even a single minute of my time. But I cannot forget you. How are you? Please write and tell me what you are doing. What about the laboratory[3]? How is Ambu[4]?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5744

[1] Nila Cram Cook, an American, who after her divorce came to India, adopted Hinduism and was doing Harijan work. The superscription is in Devanagari.

[2] Addressee's son

[3] At Pant Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay

[4] Addressee's daughter, Amba Jugatram Vaidya

364. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 22, 1941

MY DEAR C. R.,

This is not to please you but Narasimhan[1]. I know you do not need a formal or other letter from me. Letters are meaningless when hearts can speak to each other. I know you are doing your duty there[2] as we are trying to do ours outside. Do keep yourself well and complete your Hindi learning.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10879. Courtesy: C. R. Narasimhan

365. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 22, 1941

BHAI SATIS BABU,

The son of Amrita Babu, Ramendra Nath, is studying there. He has joined the ninth class and needs some books. Please send for him and ask what books he wants and what they would cost. He is a 'free' student. His address is: 4/1 Sham Charande Street. They say it is a minute's walk from Pratishthan office. Every week I read *Rashtravani* attentively.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SATIS BABU
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
15 COLLEGE SQUARE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2734

[1] Addressee's son

[2] In jail; the addressee was arrested on December 3 and sentenced to a year's simple imprisonment.

366. *LETTER TO A JOURNALIST*[1]

[Before *January 23, 1941*][2]

Non-violence is an active force. Do you not realize that when non-violence reigns, materialism takes the back seat, avenues are changed; and in a non-violent war there is no waste of efforts, property or the moral fibre?

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-1-1941

367. *MESSAGE TO GUJARAT COLLEGE STUDENTS*

[Before *January 23, 1941*][3]

The action of the Principal, if it is such as you describe, calls certainly for a protest. You should negotiate with him respectfully; you should seek the assistance of leading citizens and you should cultivate public opinion. Still if you do not obtain justice you have the right to strike. To exercise that right or not is dependent upon the strength of the students.

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-1-1941

368. *LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 23, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your letter. My reason does not tell me that the gifts we make in the name of the dead benefit the dead. But thereby we show our loyalty towards them. I hold the same view about prayer. But in such matters it is better to rely on faith rather than on reason. At least there is no harm in doing so. Charity

[1&2] The addressee had written to Gandhiji "questioning the efficacy of non-violence in the establishment of peace in materialistic world". The letter was reported under the date-line "New Delhi, January 23".

[3] The message was reported under the date-line "Ahmedabad, January 23".

must be prompted by knowledge. I do not feel particularly tired. Whatever fatigue I feel should now be accepted as inevitable in old age. There is a good deal of illness here. Manu is having fever.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VIJAYABEHN
GRAM DAKSHINNAMURTI
AMBLA, *via* SONGADH
KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N 7136. Also C.W. 4628. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

369. ADVICE TO CONGRESSMEN

SEVAGRAM,
January 24, 1941

I observe that in the Punjab people pay for and wear paper [or] metallic tricolour badges. Now the tricolour has merit because of the material, that is, khadi, of which it is made and is a symbol of identification with the masses and of non-violence. Therefore badges must be made of khadi. Metal and paper badges have no value for Congressmen save as superfluous decorations. At this time of trial for us all I would expect Congressmen and those who are in sympathy with it to observe the necessary rules of conduct. No detail can be regarded as too trifling for attention. For, an aggregate of details makes a principle.

M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 1362, 1941. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

370. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 24, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your second letter just to hand. If finally it is decided that you should come to Varoda, I shall bear your wish in mind. But my presentiment is that you won't be happy there for any length of time. If you keep your health, you need not disturb yourself until you are quite clear in your mind that you can have your peace in the haunts of mankind.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6869. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9864

371. LETTER TO CARL HEATH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 25, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your very kind letter. In it there is no acknowledgement of my cable reply[1] to your cable referred to in your letter. My reply cabled 28[2]th October, 1940, was as follows:

> All effort failed. Indian condition wholly different and unique. Press gagged. Have stopped *Harijan* weeklies. Restricting civil disobedience minimum requirements of non-violence.

Since then I have sent you the following cable[3] in reply to yours of the last week of December:

> M.P.'s letter ignores facts. Frank open communication made impossible. God between us all.

I understand your argument. The Quaker attitude is individual. The Congress attitude has reference to a big organization.

[1]&[3] *Vide* pp. 135 and 285.
[2] The source, however, has "27".

The Congress, as an institution based on non-violence, cannot distinguish between one species of violence and another. I do not think that the world will be any better if British arms are victorious over the German through the means employed by the latter. In the ultimate, the question before the Congress is how to do away with the use of arms as between man and man or nation and nation for the vindication of justice. The universal proposition is implicit in India's fight for freedom through non-violence.

You have rightly detected the flaw in the Congress attitude as reflected in the Poona resolution. That was when and why I had ceased to guide the Congress or take part in its deliberations. I withdrew my opposition when the Congress retraced its steps through the later resolution at Bombay. In my opinion it reflects no discredit on the Congress that it could not abide by non-violence in all circumstances. Its policy is truth and non-violence. Above all else, therefore, it must be honest. When, therefore, it found the Poona demand flouted, it came round to its original position and invited me to lead the battle of civil disobedience. I had no hesitation in responding as I knew that the mass mind in India was by instinct non-violent. You seem also to have missed the fact that the Poona resolution would not have been passed at all but for my weakness of which I made ample confession[1] in the pages of *Harijan*.

My experience is that the Congress has grown progressively, though slowly, in non-violence. And I would have proved an unworthy exponent of non-violence if I had failed at the right moment to express it through the Congress.

The Congress is as much anti-Nazism as anti-imperialism. If the Government had not thoughtlessly forbidden the anti-war activity of the Congress and had not proclaimed it as pro-Nazi, they could easily have claimed the whole of India as anti-Nazi—both that part which followed the Congress non-violence and the other which believed in the use of violence. Had it not done so, much bitterness would have been avoided and the world would have profited by the lesson of tolerance and its moral opinion would have been on the side of Britain. It is never too late to mend one's error.

Whether, however, the error is admitted and mended or not the course of the Congress is clear. The conviction being purely moral it should be pursued irrespective of the immediate result.

[1] *Vide* pp. 31-3; also Vol. LXXII, pp. 348-51 and 375-7.

A moral means is almost an end in itself. Is not virtue its own reward?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

FRIEND CARL HEATH
WHITE WINGS MANOR WAY
GUILDFORD, SURREY

From a photostat: G.N. 1049

372. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 25, 1941

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I have just finished reading your article[1] in the *Twentieth Century*.

I quite agree with you that we have to settle our domestic troubles ourselves and without thinking whether the rulers will accept our joint demands or not. Having that belief you should know that I specially went[2] to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah in Bombay and had several talks, and then Subhas Babu went but we could make no headway. You perhaps know why. Then again, determined not to go to the Viceroy as strangers, I invited myself to his house in Delhi[3] and from there we went together in his car but only to show our differences to the Viceroy. I would go again and again if I had not the knowledge that my going would cause irritation to him. I cannot crack a joke without exposing myself to being misunderstood. My impression is that he does not want a settlement till he has so consolidated the League position that he can dictate his terms to all the parties concerned including the rulers. I do not blame him for having taken up that position, if he has. But with this impression it is useless for me to approach him. I often feel like writing to him but lose courage when it comes to the point of taking up my pen. But if you have faith why don't you see him without being asked by anybody?

I hope you are keeping very good health.[4]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7584. Also C.W. 10339. Courtesy: National Library

[1] Under the title "The Need of the Hour"
[2] "In April 1938"
[3] "In November 1939"
[4] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix IX.

373. LETTER TO VEERBAL H. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 25, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your kind letter[1]. I have followed the memorial movement with interest. But I could not enthuse over it. Shri Natarajan I have known for years before he knew me. I am a hero worshipper, and he was one of my heroes as a social reformer. Then we began to know each other and became friends that we are today. But I have never known him as a journalist. He became an Editor because he was a reformer. I do not believe in scholarship in journalism. I would like Shri Natarajan's name to be associated with a rise in the status of women or Harijan uplift or some such social reform dear to his heart. But I have no desire to affect the course the Committee has adopted especially if it has met with Shri Natarajan's approval. Only you should quietly forget me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

374. A LETTER

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 25, 1941

BHAI,

If it had been possible, I would have found some solution long ago. I smell some sort of a threat in your letter. If you wish to recover it through a court, why do you need my help?

[1] In this, dated January 23, the addressee, who was honorary Secretary of the Natarajan Committee, had sought Gandhiji's blessings to an appeal for funds to raise a suitable memorial to K. Natarajan, who was the Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

I have already written and told you that I have done all I could. I am helpless. You may do what you think best.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Bhavnagar Samachar, 17-12-1955

375. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO M. L. SHAH[1]

[Before *January 26, 1941*][2]

I am fighting the country's struggle. The country includes students as much as other parts of the body politic. I have, however, a special claim upon the students and they upon me, for I regard myself still a student and also because, from the very commencement of my return to India, I have been in close touch with them and many of them have served the cause of satyagraha. Therefore, even if the whole of the student world were to repudiate me for causes which in their very nature must be temporary, I am not going to be deterred from tendering my advice for fear of rejection. Students cannot afford to have party politics. They may hear all parties, as they read all sorts of books, but their business is to assimilate the truth of all and reject the balance. This is the only worthy attitude that they can take. Power politics should be unknown to the student world. Immediately they dabble in that class of work they cease to be students and will, therefore, fail to serve the country in its crisis. And you as General Secretary would be ill serving the cause of the students if you take part in power politics.

All communists are not bad as all Congressmen are not angels. I have therefore no prejudice against communists as such. Their philosophy, as they have declared it to me, I cannot subscribe to. I have great regard for Dr. Ashraf's abilities. I have never questioned his love of his country but I am positive, he will one day be

[1] The addressee, in a letter to Gandhiji, said that "he would still maintain that the policy of the Students' Federation was that all their actions for the achievement of the rights and redress of their grievances should be peaceful. If the communists can prove otherwise, I am amenable to any disciplinary action. We Congressmen, Socialists, Forward Bloc and others, except the communists, believe that the students' platform should not be turned into a tail of any political party. It must be kept aloof from party politics."

[2] From *The Hindu*, 27-1-1941, in which the letter was reported under the date-line "Bombay, January 26"

sorry for the wrong guidance he is giving to student world. But, inasmuch as he is enamoured of his views, as I am of mine, and we are equally obstinate, I despair of convincing him of his error and, therefore, never enter into argument with him. And he returns the compliment by avoiding me. But let the students remember that at the present moment I am fighting the country's cause. I am not an inexperienced general, but a seasoned soldier of 50 years' standing. Let them, therefore, think 50 times before rejecting my advice which is that they must not dabble in strikes without reference to me. I have never said or suggested that they may never resort to strikes. They should not forget my recent advice[1] to the Christ Church College students. I do not repent of that advice. Let them take full benefit of it.

In the first place you gave me none[2] on behalf of the Federation. In the second place, even if you had given any, I would not have taken it from you because you had no authority to give me assurance in advance.

The Hitavada, 29-1-1941

376. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 26, 1941

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I had your messages about the hospital[3]. Dr. Mehta[4] has been to Allahabad and he is of opinion that it should be opened by me on 28th February. All things considered, I agree with him that I should open it and that too on 28th February at the earliest. If I go, the balance of the contemplated sum is likely to be collected and the hospital inaugurated without much anxiety as to the future. I know you will all be with us in spirit. I think we need not wait for Sarup[5] and Indu[6].

[1] *Vide* pp. 176-7, 194 and 203-4.

[2] The report said that Gandhiji was "referring to the assurance alleged to have been given by Mr. Shah". *Vide* also "Interview to M. L. Shah", p. 194.

[3] Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital

[4] Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta

[5] Vijayalakshmi, addressee's sister

[6] Indira, addressee's daughter

If you are permitted to wire your opinion, please do. I shall then go to Allahabad with a lighter heart.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1951. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

377. LETTER TO RAMBHAU B. TILAK

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 26, 1941

DEAR RAMBHAU,

I did send you a message asking you to give up the fast. I have read your papers and I am of opinion that you should not resist the trustees. And in any case there is no case for a fast.

I hope you will break the fast.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI RAMBHAU B. TILAK

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

378. LETTER TO GOPALRAO[1]

[Before *January 27, 1941*][2]

Do not be in a hurry to conduct the campaign; have as many stoppages as are needed for efficient working.

The Hindu, 29-1-1941

[1] According to the source, the addressee, President, Nagpur District Congress Committee, had "requested Gandhiji to allow him to suspend satyagraha in the Nagpur Distrsict from February 1 to February 4". The report also said that according to the Secretary, Nagpur District Congress Committee, "the decision was taken for the purpose of scrutinizing satyagraha forms, already approved by Mahatma Gandhi, in view of the fresh instructions issued by him"; *vide* pp. 273, 276-7, 279 and 281-3.

[2] The letter was reported under the date-line "Nagpur, January 27".

379. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 27, 1941

DEAR MAHMUD,

I am delighted that you are out of bed. Do please give yourself complete rest before moving about. I am likely to be in Allahabad about 28th February.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5087

380. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

January 27, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

I got the draft ready for you. Then at night I started thinking. First of all I did not like the name. Find some other name. Then consider whether such a Sangh is very necessary just now. Come tomorrow at four. Today the Ashram is full. Enclosed are Bal's letters. They are very fine indeed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10939

381. A LETTER

January 27, 1941

BROTHERS,

I have not seen the circular. But I have no objection to what you say. The Congress has given the name Hindustani to the *rashtrabhasha*. A mere change of name will not destroy our language. But it will certainly perish if we prove ourselves unworthy.

I advise you not to get involved in argument over the name. Let us carefully consider what our task is.

Yours,

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

382. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 27, 1941

DAUGHTER,

I did not get your letter this time. I do not know whether or no you got my letters. But it is good that you went and brought Mother to Bombay, and that you too are keeping all right. This is what Kanu told me regarding your telephone call. I would advise you to improve your health still further. Serve Mother and come over afterwards. Whenever you come you will of course do all sorts of Ashram work but not any special service to me. You would do what others do. I would be glad if you come after careful thought. I am quite all right. Manubehn's and Ramnarayan's fever has come down a bit, but it still persists.

Blessings from
BAPU

BIBI AMTUSSALAAM
C/O MAULVI BAGI KHAN SAHEB
EASTER VILLA, 7TH ROAD
SANTACRUZ, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 466

383. TELEGRAM TO SARAT CHANDRA BOSE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 28, 1941

SHRI SARAT BOSE
WOODBURN PARK
CALCUTTA

STARTLING NEWS ABOUT SUBHAS.[1] PLEASE WIRE TRUTH. ANXIOUS. HOPE ALL WELL.[2]

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also *The Hindu*, 30-1-1941

384. LETTER TO NEWSPAPER EDITORS

SEVAGRAM,
January 28, 1941

DEAR EDITOR,

We have become so used to the Press gag that we hardly know that there is a partial paralysis of the Press. In the name of "war effort" all honest expression of opinion, if it is opposed to war effort as conceived by the official world, is effectively suppressed, unless an enterprising editor or publisher risks the loss of his Press. Thus my own effort, if my honesty be not questioned, is the true effort to end all war and therefore in no way anti-British or pro-German. If public opinion desired suppression, the Press would on its own initiative exclude news and opinions disliked by the public. But in India the majority of Indian Editors would gladly publish all the news about satyagraha if there was no gag.

I wish to use my case by way of illustration. For the conduct of the campaign and for the sake even of keeping it within restraint,

[1] Subhas Chandra Bose disappeared from his house in Elgin Road, Calcutta, on January 17, 1941.

[2] According to the report in *The Hindu*, the addressee's telegram in reply to this read: "We are as much in the dark as the public about Subhas. No whereabouts and intentions and even the exact time of his leaving. No news in spite of the best efforts for the last three days. Circumstances indicate renunciation."

I have to issue statements from time to time. During four days two out of three such statements were suppressed. The reason assigned was as follows:

> 1. January 16, 1941. I am writing this to inform you that Mahatma Gandhi's statement of January 12[1] regarding continuance of the Civil Disobedience Movement was submitted for Press advice by two of the Press agencies but was not passed for publication. I am accordingly bringing the above fact to your notice.
>
> 2. January 28, 1941. I am writing this to inform you that Mahatma Gandhi's statement of January 10[2] regarding payment of fines by satyagrahis, which was submitted for Press advice by two of the Press agencies, was not passed for publication, as being a prejudicial report containing incitement to carry on anti-war civil disobedience. I am accordingly bringing the above fact to your notice

I used to send my statements through the usual news agencies. But when I found that they were censored, I had to send my statements to selected newspapers and so they found place in some of them. You can judge for yourself whether they were objectionable news. This method of sending statements on chance publication is precarious. As I had no intention of extending civil disobedience to the special Press laws and ordinances, I stopped[3] the three *Harijan* weeklies whose chief aim was to propagate non-violence and what is known as the constructive programme. I do not want so far as possible to extend the scope of civil disobedience beyond the present limit. But I do not know that I can exercise that restraint if the Press abdicates its function of publishing relevant news. I therefore appeal to the Press not to succumb to the gag but to assert its independence by publishing all the satyagraha news in its fullness. Of course it is open to the Editors to criticize and condemn the movement or the statements that may be issued. Editors can signify their disapproval of the gag by either publishing the offending statements and risking prosecution or even confiscation of the Press or by stopping publication of their papers altogether by way of protest. These are only two out of many ways for signifying your disapproval.

I observe that the Standing Committee of Editors is meeting on the lst proximo[4]. The Committee is expected fearlessly to

[1] *Vide* pp. 281-3; the source, however, has "January 13".

[2] *Vide* pp. 276-7; the source, however, has "January 9".

[3] *Vide* pp. 124-6, 139-41 and 144-6.

[4] The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference met on February 1, 1941, in the premises of "The Hindustan Times". K. Srinivasan, Editor, *The Hindu*, presided.

vindicate the liberty of the Press. It must cease to be the power it should be, if it submits to suppression of free public opinion.

I need hardly draw attention to the fact that in a subject country like India, the liberty of the Press is doubly precious. And your responsibility, if you represent British-owned Press, is very great at the present critical moment in the history of this country.

I need hardly also draw attention to the fact that I represent unadulterated non-violence whose spread can do nobody any harm. It is false and cruel to suggest that I could have anything in common with Nazism or Fascism because I happen to oppose imperialism.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 1362, 1941. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

385. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 28, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

I got your detailed letter. I do want you to give the people the full benefit of the knowledge you have acquired and, while doing so, to devote yourself to khadi. You will always find a home here. Come whenever you wish to. If you have any suggestion to make about anything here, please do so. Cannot Ambu's health be improved? I refuse to believe it. The miracle about Shastri is still continuing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5745

386. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 28, 1941

DAUGHTER,

I have your letter. I wrote three letters to you. You might have got my letter of yesterday. What will you do by coming

here when you are ill? And now you are meeting Qaid-e-Azam and others. Let us see what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 467

387. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

WARDHA,
January 30, 1941

MIRABAI
PALAMPUR
KANGRA DISTRICT

COME AT ONCE VARODA.[1] LOVE. WELL.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6470. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9865

388. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 30, 1941

DAUGHTER,

You have sent for Zohra to Bombay. This I consider a great mistake. Akbar showed me your letter. If Zohra does not go to Aligarh, she may come here. If she wants to stay in Indore, she may. She is sure to lose in Bombay. I am all right. Rajkumari is going to Benares today for Vidyarthi Sammelan. Manu is still having fever.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 468

[1] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 295.

389. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 31, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Mahadev has left.

I am reminded of you today because you are going[1] on a difficult task. Of course God is with you. Will remember the second. Ultimately Subhas Babu could not be arrested. Manu has fever today also. I am quite all right. It is pretty cold, so I slept under the roof. Kishorelal has come. Blessings to Maharani[2] and Maharaj Kumar[3].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7873. Also C.W. 4240. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

390. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
January 31, 1941

BHAI SATIS BABU,

Get from here the money for your expenses. Or, shall I send you Rs. 15? It is suggested that Khadi Pratishthan should get certification. It is good for us to have it. I believe there would be no difficulty in getting it. Jajuji has sent me Hem Prabha's[4] letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2735

[1] To attend the Vidyarthi Sammelan; *vide* also the preceding item.
[2] & [3] Rajmata and Prince of Vizianagaram
[4] Addressee's wife

391. NOTE TO K. T. BHASHYAM[1]

[On or before *February 1, 1941*][2]

Rejection of so many nominations, on apparently the flimsiest grounds, is a serious matter. It has filled me with deep regret that this injustice should have been perpetrated in Mysore. You have done well to send a memorial to His Highness. I hope it will remedy what appears to me a manifest wrong.

The Hindu, 3-2-1941

392. TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM

WARDHAGANJ,
February 1, 1941

AMTUL SALAAM
CARE MADAM WADIA
ARYA SANGH, MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

I HAVE NOT ASKED YOU SEE ANYBODY. AM NO REPRESENTATIVE HINDU NOR CAN SPEAK FOR HINDUS. YOUR FIRST BUSINESS IS TO BE WELL. LOVE.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 469

[1] President of the Mysore Congress. The note was sent after Gandhiji heard from Dasappa, Chairman of the Parliamentary Sub-committee, and ex-President of the Mysore Congress, "on the situation created by the rejection in several cases of nomination papers of Congressmen to the Mysore Legislature".

[2] The report was dated "Wardha, February 1".

393. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 1, 1941

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I thank you for your kind letter[1]. Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah says, I can only talk to him as a Hindu for Hindus. I cannot do it. If I write to him that I want to meet him, he won't decline to meet me. But I know the result. He will immediately distort our meeting. He thinks that I am the greatest stumbling block. I am, therefore, biding my time. As soon as I see my way, I would certainly seek an interview with him and everybody else. You may have seen how he has distorted the present civil disobedience as anti-Muslim[2]? But of course you should pursue the subject after your own style with whomsoever you may think fit.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7583. Also C.W. 10277. Courtesy: National Library

[1] Dated January 28; *vide* Appendix IX.

[2] Answering Lucknow University students on January 27, Jinnah said: "I hope that the Muslim students will not participate in any strikes, protest meetings or any other activities directly or indirectly to support the Congress, as the latter's objective is to force the British Government to surrender to their demands which are highly detrimental to the vital interests of the Muslims in the country."

[3] The addressee, in his reply (C.W. 10380) dated February 6, said, "After careful consideration, I have decided to write a letter to Mr. Jinnah and I am sending it today. . . . I have simply suggested to him that he should be prepared to meet you and to have a talk with you, if you should write to him to see him in Bombay or elsewhere. . . ."

394. LETTER TO MANORANJAN CHAUDHURI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 1, 1941

DEAR MANORANJANBABU[1],

I have your long letter. I am afraid I won't be able to help you. I cannot lead a movement of satyagraha as you suggest.[2] It has its limitations. And then very few, if any, members of the Hindu Mahasabha are believers in non-violence. Neither Shri Savarkar[3] nor Dr. Moonje[4] nor Bhai Parmanand are. No fault of theirs. They are entitled to hold the views they do. But they cannot lead a satyagraha movement. I think they will admit as much.

You draw too much upon our talks when you say that you would not have joined the Sabha without my blessings. All I said was that you had every right to join it, if you thought the Congress was impotent and the Sabha could secure relief.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SHRI MANORANJAN CHAUDHURI
211 BOWBAZAR STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: C.W. 10438. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] Secretary, Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha

[2] The donor of this letter, Amrita Lal Chatterjee who was an inmate of Sevagram Ashram, explains that the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha leaders had suggested a satyagraha movement against the Secondary Education Bill and Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act introduced by the Muslim League Ministry of Bengal.

[3] & [4] V. D. Savarkar and Dr. B. S. Moonje, President and Vice-President of Hindu Mahasabha

395. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 1, 1941

DAUGHTER,

A telegram[1] has been sent to you. What do you expect from me? You may not make use of my name for anything. You have not understood at all. So long as you are not quite healthy, you will not be able to do anything thoroughly. Just leave everything for the present. Get well first. Attend to other things later.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 470

396. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI M. PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 2, 1941

BHAI DAHYABHAI,

Ramjibhai is full of praises of you. I am giving this letter for his satisfaction. What need I say to you on behalf of the Harijans? No service we render them can be enough.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2713. Courtesy: Dahyabhai M. Patel

[1] *Vide* p. 309.

397. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 2, 1941

DAUGHTER,

I got your letter. I sent you a telegram yesterday and also wrote a postcard. I find I understand nothing.[1] I have faith in prayer. Get all right first.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 471. Also *Bapuke Patra-8: Bibi Amtussalaamke Nam*, p. 209

398. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHA,
February 3, 1941

RAJKUMARI
CARE SIR MAHARAJ SINGH
MALL AVENUE
LUCKNOW

DELIGHTED SIGNED PHOTO. HOPE WELL. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3997. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7306

[1] According to the printed source, the reference is to the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League which demanded partition of India.

399. LETTER TO MOHAMMED NOMAN[1]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 3, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry for your illness. Hope you will soon recover. I shall be glad to give you another appointment, when you are restored to health.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 4091

400. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH[2]

[*February 3, 1941*][3]

This must not be used.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7115. Also C.W. 8514. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

401. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 3, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Ramji Gope will arrive today. He will stay somewhere. For the last five days he has been living here and there. He appears to be a gentleman. With him is his son.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4369

[1] The addressee's name has been supplied from the G.N. register.

[2] & [3] The note is written on the one of even date from the addressee who wanted to know whether they could utilize the weevil-infected wheat grown on the Ashram farm or should buy a better variety from the market.

402. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 4, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

You are the limit! I cannot believe that you get no time to write even a postcard. I did not at all like the statement Jayaprakash has issued to the newspapers. I wish he had not issued it. Tell him this when you meet him. Nothing can be done now, of course. Take care of your health. Manu is all right. Amtul Salaam arrived today from Bombay. Rajkumari is in Lucknow, Mahadev in Delhi. Mirabehn is arriving on the 7th. By that time everybody else will be here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3551

403. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO E. E. MACK[1]

[On or before *February 5, 1941*][2]

I would not regard it as a breach of discipline for a Congressman to subscribe to the Red Cross or take the necessary training. But it would be a different thing if a Congressman yielded to outside pressure and in order to avoid the displeasure of an authority and to gain a selfish end, subscribed to it.

The Hindu, 7-2-1941

[1] & [2] The addressee, District Judge of Nellore, was in correspondence with Gandhiji on "the aims and objects of the Red Cross organization". The letter was reported under the date-line "Wardhaganj, February 5".

404. LETTER TO SULTANA QURESHI AND KUSUM GANDHI

[On or before *February 5, 1941*][1]

CHI. SULTANA AND KUSUM,

I have the letter from both of you. There should be no friction between you two nor between others. It is all right if at present Sultana's Urdu is not up to the mark. How long will you be there? What do they give you for food?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.W. 10763. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasul Qureshi

405. LETTER TO MANJULABEHN M. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 6, 1941

CHI. MANJULA,

I got your letter. You did well in writing about Prabhashankar. I shall write to him.

You say that all of you will come over in May. Why so late? It is very hot in May. If you are not afraid of the heat, it is all right. It will take time for your quarters to get ready. But I shall be able to accommodate you in the quarters that are getting ready and make arrangements for a separate kitchen for you. A suitable building for that will be ready soon. I will let you know as soon as it is ready. Anyway you can come whenever you wish to. As you can put up with inconveniences, I do not worry about you.

Do observe the vow of *brahmacharya* which you have taken. I would be happy if you could observe it. After the birth of a certain number of children, everyone should observe *brahmacharya*. As this is not done, people resort to artificial means of birth-control. But the practice cannot but do harm in the end. It destroys morality. According to me life without self-control has no meaning. Without self-control no real service is possible. Those who wish to observe

[1] From the postmark

brahmacharya should lead a simple and disciplined life. They should keep themselves physically and mentally well occupied all the time. One's reading, too, should be such as will fill one's mind with good thoughts. Both husband and wife should devote themselves to public service, so that they might not even feel the desire for pleasure. If you want to ask me anything more, do so. You should, of course, do nothing beyond your capacity. Only rare persons succeed in observing self-control. If, therefore, you two cannot observe it for a long time, what need I say? Hence both of you should think over the matter yourselves and do what you think best.

Devdas told me that Magan was thinking of going to Poona. If you decide not to stay here, Poona would of course be better than Delhi.

Urmila is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1613. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

406. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

February 6, 1941

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

What you say[1] is correct. I am working cautiously. If I die leaving the work half done, then my whole work will be criticized but if I die after completing it then all would appreciate it. I can say this much that I will not allow the manure to be wasted. Whatever I do is for the poor. But today I am unable to prove it in Sevagram. If you have faith and if you make your personal life simple and pure, you will then see that everything has been done for the best.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You did well in writing to me. It has neither tooth nor claw.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1940

[1] The addressee said that Gandhiji had permitted the construction of a septic tank.

407. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

February 6, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Never mind having written a long letter. My blood-pressure is not likely to shoot up because of it. Read the letter[1] to Balvantsinha. What you write is absolutely correct. Watch the result now. The seemingly royal life is in fact a very simple one. All this cannot be proved while the thing is still in an experimental stage. But try to find out, if everybody eats all things raw with the exception of *rotli*, how much will the expenditure come to? The quantity of milk would be reduced, less fuel would be consumed and, as for fruits, the fruits and vegetables grown in our gardens would be enough to meet our needs. This is my reason for plunging into this experiment with the enthusiasm of a young man. That we in the ashram are a motley crowd is of course a big handicap.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8513. Also C.W. 7119. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

408. LETTER TO PATWARDHAN

February 6, 1941

BHAI PATWARDHAN,

I have your letter. What connection can there be between Dr. Khare's episode and this? I still claim that no one has involved me in this nor do I want to shoulder the responsibility. From the very beginning I have been saying this. Didn't I have a share in building up the school? That is why I listened to you and Sahasrabuddhe as a friend. I can do something only if you two are with me. I will not act as a tribunal.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

409. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
February 7, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

You have done well in writing as you have. The ferment will do good. You must wait and watch and you will say that no step will be taken that can possibly harm the village life conception.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1455. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

410. LETTER TO KAMESHWARAMMA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 7, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I have your pathetic letter. For your husband's[1] sake you should refrain from offering satyagraha or doing any active political work. The constructive field is open for you. It is wide enough. If in spite of this forbearance anything happens, you should both be prepared for it and suffer joyfully.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10279

411. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO A CONGRESSMAN OF DELHI

[Before *February 9, 1941*]

Every satyagrahi will be his own leader and should shoulder the full responsibility of the national struggle in the event of my arrest.

It is wrong to presume that only those serve the cause of the country who offer satyagraha and court imprisonment. In my

[1] Prof. Karpurswami of Mysore University

opinion, people who devote every available minute of their time in spinning and other constructive programme of the Congress subscribe a lot towards the national movement.

He adds that no Indian should dream of this movement developing into a mass movement so long as the leadership is in his (Gandhiji's) hand. He calls upon every Indian to fulfil the conditions which are laid down for a satyagrahi.

The Hindustan Times, 9-2-1941

412. LETTER TO NIRMALANANDA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 9, 1941

DEAR NIRMALANANDA,

I hope all will be well during your absence. You have given me a good report.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1394

413. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 9, 1941

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

Your letter[1] has just reached me. It disconcerts me somewhat. I think I have told you that I am not going to write to him unless I know that he wants to come to some settlement. What I do know is all to the contrary. I wish I had a copy of your letter[2] to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah. Of course I do not want you to do anything further so as to remove misunderstanding, if there is any.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7582. Also C.W. 10281. Courtesy: National Library

[1] Dated February 6; *vide* footnote 3, p. 310.

[2] For excerpts from this, as recorded by the addressee in his letter dated February 12 to Gandhiji, *vide* Appendix X. The addressee forwarded to Gandhiji on February 14 the reply received from Jinnah. *Vide* also "Letter to T. B. Sapru", p. 337.

414. TELEGRAM TO R. K. SIDHWA[1]

SEVAGRAM,
February 10, 1941

ABOUT ELECTION[2] FOLLOW MAULANA'S DIRECTION. LOCAL MEN MUST BE BEST JUDGES.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

GANDHI

415. LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 10, 1941

SIR,

Your word to me written so earnestly in your issue of February 7, demands a reply.

In spite of your disbelief, I must adhere to my faith in the possibility of the most debased human nature to respond to non-violence. It is the essence of non-violence that it conquers all opposition. That I may not express myself that measure of non-violence, and the rest may express less is highly probable. But I will not belittle the power of non-violence or distrust the Fuhrer's capacity to respond to true non-violence.

The illustrations you have cited in support of your disbelief are all unhappy because wholly inapplicable. A man is not necessarily non-violent because he lays down his arms. The Czechs, the Danes, the Austrians, and the Poles may have all acted most wisely, but certainly not non-violently. If they could have put up successful armed resistance, they would have done so and would have deserved well of their countrymen. Nor is it for me to blame them for submission when resistance became vain. It was, however, in order to meet such contingencies and in order to

[1] Rustomji Khurshedji Sidhwa; leader of the Congress party in the Sind Legislative Assembly

[2] The reference is to by-election in the Rohri Division of Sukkur District in Sind.

enable even the physically weakest persons not to feel powerless against physically strong persons fully armed with modern weapons of destruction that satyagraha was discovered and applied in South Africa in 1907[1]. And it has since been successfully applied under varying and even baffling circumstances. You will please excuse me for refusing to draw a distinction in kind between the forces I have had to cope with hitherto and what I may have to cope with if the Fuhrer attacked India. The prospect of his killing every satyagrahi causes neither terror nor despair. If India has to go through such a purgatory and if a fair number of satyagrahis face the Fuhrer's army and die without malice in their breasts, it would be a new experience for him. Whether he responds or not, I am quite clear that these satyagrahis facing the army will go down in history as heroes and heroines at least equal to those of whom we learn in fables or cold history.

You are, however, on less weak ground when you doubt the honesty or non-violence of my companions. You are entitled to throw the Poona resolution in my face. I have already confessed[2] that the Poona resolution would not have been passed but for my momentary weakness. As to the want of honesty or defective non-violence, I can only say that the future alone will show whether satyagrahis were only so-called or as honest and true as human beings can be. I can only assert that every care has been taken in making the selection to ensure a fair standard of non-violence. I admit, however, that hypocrites have undoubtedly crept in. But I entertain the belief that the vast majority will be found to be true. The Congress President has been frank enough to define the limitations of his non-violence.[3] But so far as I know his mind—and nobody does if I do not—his non-violence will be proof against any temptation within the limits defined by him. I should undertake to engage in non-violent resistance to the Fuhrer if I had companions with the Maulana Saheb's circumscribed belief. Whether such non-violence can stand the test or not, is a moot question. I have achieved success till now with such material.

[1] In protest against the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act passed on March 22, 1907

[2] *Vide* pp. 31-3; also "Letter to Carl Heath", pp. 295-7.

[3] According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1940*, Vol. II, p. 56, Abul Kalam Azad, in the course of an interview at Lahore on December 30, 1940, said: "If India is invaded tomorrow and there is no other alternative to defend my country, I will not hesitate to take up arms and fight."

You are incorrect in attributing to me a demand for unfettered liberty of the Press or speech.[1] What I have said[2] is that there should be unfettered liberty provided that it is not inconsistent with non-violence. I am not aware that Congress Ministers' restrictive action went beyond the proviso. If it did, it was certainly against the declared Congress policy and can be no guide or criterion for me.

The unkindest cut is contained in the insinuation that my demand for free speech, subject to the proviso mentioned, was "a device for squeezing political concessions from the British". There would be nothing politically wrong if political concessions were demanded even at the point of civil disobedience. But it is a matter of public knowledge that the Poona resolution has lapsed. And in so far as I am concerned, it remains lapsed so long as the war lasts. Civil disobedience would certainly be withdrawn if free speech is genuinely recognized and the *status quo* restored. I have never stated during previous movements that they were likely to be long drawn out. But I have done so this time because I believe that there can be no settlement with the Congress, short of complete independence during the pendency of the war, for the simple reason that the Congress cannot commit itself to active help in war with men and money. That would mean a reversal of the policy of non-violence which the Congress has pursued for the last 20 years. And independence cannot come through any settlement while the war lasts. Therefore so far as I know, the Congress will be satisfied with the fullest freedom to grow in non-violence. The Congress demand concerns all persons and parties.

You ask me in the face of all these facts whether it is "fair or morally right to pursue his (my) present campaign". You have answered the question yourself in the negative. But I may not accept your answer. In the first place, as shown above, I do not subscribe to your facts. Secondly, to accept your answer will be to declare my utter insolvency. I would be untrue to the faith I have unwaveringly held now for nearly half a century in the efficacy of non-violence. I may seemingly fail, but even at the risk of being

[1] *The Times of India* had argued: "He demands the unfettered liberty of the Press and the right of the individual to say what he likes. These so-called rights do not exist anywhere in the world; they did not prevail when Mr. Gandhi's Congress Governments were in office in the Indian provinces. Bombay and Madras bear witness to that fact. Is Mr. Gandhi justified in demanding for himself and others a privilege which even Congress Ministers denied to the public?"

[2] *Vide* pp. 304-6.

completely misunderstood I must live and act according to my faith and belief that I am serving India, Britain and humanity. I do not wish well to India at the expense of Britain as I do not wish well to Britain at the expense of Germany. Hitlers will come and go. Those who believe that when the Fuhrer dies or is defeated his spirit will die, err grievously. What matters is how we react to such a spirit, violently or non-violently. If we react violently, we feed that evil spirit. If we act non-violently, we sterilize it.

You ask me to devote myself to internal unity. Well, my passion for it is as old as that for non-violence. Indeed, my first non-violent experiment outside the domestic circle was to promote that unity. And I had considerable success. I ask you, therefore, to believe me that my effort for unity is not suspended but intensified by the present movement. The great beauty of non-violent effort lies in the fact that its failure can only harm those who are in it, while its success is sure to promote all-round good.

M. K. GANDHI

The Times of India, 15-2-1941

416. LETTER TO EDITOR, "THE TIMES OF INDIA"

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 10, 1941

DEAR EDITOR,

You will please publish this[1] without alteration or reject it altogether.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Mahatma, Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. 6, between pp. 16 and 17

417. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

SEVAGRAM,
February 10, 1941

MY DEAR PRAFULLA,

I was delighted to hear from you. I wonder if your companion recited the *Gita* correctly. You have attained very good speed. I hope your yarn is even and strong.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

The Sardar is keeping very well and devoting practically the whole of his time to spinning. He has induced his companions also to do likewise though not so long. They offer prayers together and are occupying their time quite usefully.

Do not believe the reports about my health. I am keeping very well and the blood-pressure remains under control if I do not work at night.

Jamnalalji is in the Nagpur jail with Vinoba and Pyarelal. They are a big company and all spinning regularly.

I have to go to Allahabad to open Kamala [Nehru] Hospital on 28th.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3780

418. LETTER TO ISWAR SARAN

February 10, 1941

DEAR MUNSHIJI,

If I come there, I must try to visit the Ashram. Please make no announcement or fuss.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI MUNSHI ISWAR SARAN
HARIJAN ASHRAM
ALLAHABAD

From the original: C.W. 10282. Courtesy: Allahabad Municipal Museum

419. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 10, 1941

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I was glad to have your letter. Manu has left this place cured of her fever. If, therefore, she gets it again there, I will put the blame on you all. Let me have the report after doctors have examined her. I am very glad to learn that now you are well. Do not let your health deteriorate.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9745. Also C.W. 725. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

420. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

February 10, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Though Kanti's letter is simple, it is against our policy. So I did not like it. But how am I to check him? Your sending [money] is all right.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8041. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

[1] The addressee, in his letter to Gandhiji, had written: "I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from Kanti. . . . I have promised to send him Rs. 50 a month and I have already sent him Rs. 150 for the first three months."

421. LETTER TO P. KODANDA RAO

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 11, 1941

MY DEAR KODANDA RAO[1],

You have no business to be ill.

When people are in need of blessings, they do not seek them by post. So Mary will have to come here and ask them with due supplication.

As for your suit, it has failed in spite of my pleading. My whole soul rebels against any speechifying. And about Gokhale[2] I simply cannot do it. You will, therefore, have to do without me.

Lastly it is cruelty to animals to drag me from Sevagram except when duty makes a peremptory call.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6282

422. LETTER TO CHARUPRABHA SENGUPTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 11, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

Gandhiji has your letter. You must not offer satyagraha, and put in your resignation also—unless the Provincial Committee people insist on your remaining in office. If people are arrested for prosecuting the constructive programme, they may defend themselves.

Yours sincerely,
MAHADEV DESAI

SHRIMATI CHARUPRABHA SENGUPTA
32/5 BEADON STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 8712

[1] Of the Servants of India Society
[2] Whose 26th death anniversary fell on February 19

423. LETTER TO SURENDRA B. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 11, 1941

CHI. SURENDRA,

I got the letter from you two[1]. Yesterday I replied[2] to Kunvarji's letter. Do not make Manu a slave of drugs. I think her stay here did her a lot of good. The improvement should be kept up. Let me know the doctor's diagnosis.

I think it is my duty to recover from you the expense incurred on Manu. I have of course not kept a separate account. In such cases I leave the matter to the persons concerned. I can get an estimate of the expense worked out. If you agree with me, you may send me whatever amount you can afford. You will have fulfilled your dharma then. It is but proper, isn't it, that children who are earning should not depend on public funds? Your own health cannot be said to be too good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1576. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

424. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 11, 1941

CHI. MANUDI,

Is what I have written[3] above all right? So long as you were unmarried, it did not matter if expenditure on your account was met from public funds. But don't you think it should no longer be so? If this hurts you, I do not want the money.

Get well soon.

[1] The addressee and his wife

[2] *Vide* p. 326.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

Vinabehn[1] has arrived safely.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1577. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

425. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 11, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

The example you cite is not good. Can it come under the rule? If so, the rule would be that you simply point out [the shortcomings of others]. We cannot talk of fine or rough [cloth] nor of [having] a collar. All this is to be said with love. Anyway he can always come to me, and then your responsibility ends. There is no room here for disappointment. Firmness is needed. To walk on the edge of a sword is now the highest duty for you. Give your *kurtas* to Sailen. If he still has some complaint, he may come to me. In future if anyone wants something, you can ask him for a note from me. Do what is convenient. If you frame the rules, I shall go through them and make the necessary changes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4370

426. LETTER TO E. E. MACK

WARDHA,
February 12, 1941

DEAR MR. MACK,

I thank you for your letter[2]. Of course I accept your word. I never published anything. I must not be held responsible for things said to be [mine].

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] A German

[2] Dated February 10, regarding the publication of his correspondence with Gandhiji about the Red Cross organization; *vide* also p. 315.

427. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

February 12, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I had fully expected to see you yesterday and today.[1] I would then have fixed up the day with you. You can have Wednesdays and Saturdays at 8.15 p.m., if that would suit you.[2] You can start from tonight.

Love.

BAPU[3]

From the original: C.W. 6471. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9866

428. *LETTER TO GANDHI ANNAMALAI*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 12, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 7th. He would ask you not to leave your job just now. The fight here will be a long-drawn-out affair, and you need not take the plunge just yet.

Yours sincerely,
MAHADEV DESAI

From a photostat: C.W. 10346. Courtesy: Jairamdas Doulatram

[1] Mirabehn explains: "I had returned from the mountains and was staying in my hut on the hill."

[2] Mirabehn says: "For going to see Bapu, at which time I used to break my silence."

[3] At the back of the letter Mirabehn had noted: "I am so sorry. If I had realized, I would have come for the answer."

429. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 12, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. Yes, Rajkumari has arrived. The Ashram is full. New rooms are coming up. As soon as they are ready, they will be full. The fact that you are keeping good health now, shows that you lacked occupation. You will have no difficulty at all in meeting Jayaprakash. I will have to go to Allahabad on the the 28th and I will know more then. If you want to come over and see me, do so. I am going to open the Kamala [Nehru] Hospital. I am fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3552

430. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 12, 1941

BHAI MALKANI,

When Kaka Saheb is coming there, why do you need my message? Is he not himself my message? Hope the whole tour will be successful.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 941

431. LETTER TO PATWARDHAN

February 12, 1941

BHAI PATWARDHAN,

I had already advised you to put the money in the name of a *panch* even though Sahasrabuddhe may not approve of it. I had understood that Sahasrabuddhe was prepared for this much. Now I

don't know what can be done. I don't even know in whose name the money has been kept. I shall tell you if I can see more clearly.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

432. *INTERVIEW TO VAMANRAO JOSHI*

[Before *February 13, 1941*][1]

I want quality and not number. I may get a few satyagrahis today but their number is bound to increase. I prefer five satyagrahis of quality to hundreds because these five will fight till the last. There should be no competition between provinces for number.[2]

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi has disapproved of the proposal of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee to start training camps for satyagrahis.

Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have told Mr. Vamanrao Joshi, President of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee, when he interviewed him recently, not to start such training camps as it might be banned by the Government and that he did not want to embarrass the Government.

Mahatma Gandhi had no objection for starting centres for training purely constructive workers.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-2-1941 and 15-2-1941

433. *MESSAGE TO PUNJAB CONGRESSMEN*[3]

WARDHAGANJ,
February 13, 1941

Have belief in service and work. This is a greater duty.

Mahatma Gandhi, it is learnt, has insisted on the necessity for intensifying constructive work which is as equally important as satyagraha.

[1] The first report of the interview had appeared under the date-line "Nagpur, February 13".

[2] This paragraph appeared in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 14-2-1941, which reported that Gandhiji gave this answer in reply to "a question whether the province should give the best possible satyagrahis or should go without any if none came up to the prescribed standard".

[3] This was sent through Ramnath Agarwal, Secretary of Moga (Punjab) City Congress Committee, who left Sevagram on February 13 after a fortnight's stay. *The Hitavada*, 14-2-1941, reported that satyagraha was being started in Moga on February 13, and that a centre for constructive work was to be opened there.

Do not flatter your opponents but try to win them over by work and love and convert them to your view or bring them into the Congress fold as true believers in the Congress programme.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-2-1941

434. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

Fearuary 13, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Your duty is to behave affectionately with all, and also not to allow breaches of the rule. It means that you are not to be a party, but should let me know when the rule is broken.[1] But what is the rule? *Ekadash Vrat*[2] is of course there. From this sub-rules should follow. If I had time, I would frame them; but since I haven't I am passing the burden on to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4371

435. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 14, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter, and note what you have written about the students. Keep as much contact with them as possible, and influence them if you can.

Regarding your offering civil disobedience, I feel that you should stay out and do service. There is enough work outside. You should give up the desire of going to jail. No one is going to arrest me. But even if I am arrested, persons like you, if outside, would go on working with God's grace.

Yes, Rajkumari has done a great thing indeed. Everyone says that.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7993. Also C.W. 3090. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

[1] *Vide* also p. 329.

[2] The eleven vows of non-violence, truth, etc., taken by the inmates of the Ashram; *vide* Vol. LXI, p. 63.

436. LETTER TO ADVAITA KUMAR GOSWAMI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 14, 1941

BHAI ADVAITA KUMAR,

Received your letter just now. My opinion is that you should not pick a quarrel over congregational prayer. It is a different thing if obstruction is put on individual prayer. Prayer should not be said loudly even in one's own room.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 150

437. LETTER TO RAMADEVI CHOWDHARY

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 14, 1941

CHI. RAMA[1],

I was very happy to read your letter. Congratulations to the teachers who have made up their mind. I hope that other teachers too will make a similar sacrifice and will not leave their schools. Congratulations to the villagers also. If this work succeeds, it will be a great service.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAMADEVI
ASHRAM
BARICUT P.O.
ORISSA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9298

[1] Wife of Gopabandhu Chowdhary; the couple was running an Ashram in Baricut.

438. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 14, 1941

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. Your ears are getting worse and worse; it is not good. There is a place in Bombay where I want to send you for treatment. If you can come soon, write to me. Here are a few words:

I like the idea of collecting my writings under suitable heads as has been done by Anand Hingorani. The reader cannot but appreciate the labour he has given to securing attractive printing and binding.

M. K. GANDHI[1]

Have this set up in print; don't make a block.[2] I hope Vidya and the child are well.

How is Jairamdas? What does Premi do? Are you getting on well with Father?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani

[1] According to the addressee, this "Foreword" originally written in English, was "intended for all the titles in the 'Gandhi Series'" edited and published by him. It was "modified by Gandhiji at Allahabad on March 1, 1941".

[2] The Foreword did appear as facsimile block on all cover-jackets of the titles under "Gandhi Series". *To the Students* and *To the Women* were the first two books published under the series on October 2, 1941.

439. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 15, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have nothing to say about the rubbish. Such mistakes would go on. As long as we are alert it is all right. Munnalal's suggestion seems to me to be worth trying. It is to put the urine bucket elsewhere. Tell me the difficulty you have on account of Anjanadevi. I will try to remove it. Her sons are good, specially Pratap. I feel that even for his sake we should put up with their family.

The rules are lying with me. Whatever you wish to write, do write and do come over.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4372

440. LETTER TO MUKUNDALAL SIRCAR

SEVAGRAM,
February 16, 1941

DEAR MUKUNDALAL,

I have your letter[1]. I had to delay replying to you because I got your copy of Subhas Babu's letter first and then his own letter.

The differences in our case are vital and fundamental. Subhas Babu knows them, and I expect you too know them. Independence secured through violence would have contents different from that secured through non-violent means. My notion of independence is independence of the poorest and the lowliest in the land. But in political language, all of us—Communists, Socialists, Kisan-Sabhaites, Labourites and others must think of independence though all will have different meanings for the same word.

[1] According to the source, "the letter of Mr. Bose dated January 10 [*vide* footnote 4, pp. 264-5] having remained unanswered, Mr. Mukundalal Sircar sent a telegram to Mahatma Gandhi on January 28, asking for a reply. When he learnt from Sevagram that Mahatma Gandhi did not receive the letter in question, Mr. Sircar sent a copy of the same on February 8 for ready reference."

So far as I am concerned, I have no objection to the whole of the correspondence being published.

You will please let me know as soon as news about Subhas Babu's whereabouts is known.[1]

The Hindu, 24-2-1941

441. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 16, 1941

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I thank you for two letters[2]. I need not now discuss the points raised by you. Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's letter confirms my fear. He would see me if I go "on behalf of the Hindu community". This I cannot do. I do not represent the Hindu community. I am not even a member of the Hindu Mahasabha. But you may not now get out of the situation. You must not mind my warning[3]. I suggest your writing to Qaid-e-Azam that his position is unsound, if you agree with me. If you do not, you should strive with me and persuade me that I should go on behalf of the Hindu community.[4]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7581. Also C.W. 10285. Courtesy: National Library

[1] The addressee's reply dated February 21, *inter alia*, read: "Though I consider the correspondence on this subject as closed, I feel constrained to say that the sentence in your letter with particular reference to violent and non-violent means, in my opinion, does not arise and is not relevant to the point of clarification sought for by Subhas Babu, because he is a Congressman and the Forward Blocists are Congressmen as well. As such Subhas Babu and his associates in the Forward Bloc had all along advocated the means of "non-violent" mass struggle as the only potential force to secure independence and, therefore, the independence thus secured is surely the independence through non-violent means."

[2] Dated February 12 and 14. For the letter dated February 12, *vide* Appendix X.

[3] In letter dated February 9, *vide* p. 320.

[4] In his letter (C.W. 10286) dated February 19, the addressee said: " . . . from the 15th of February, I have been down with high fever . . . I am not attending to any work at present . . . I have just written a letter to Mr.

442. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM,
February 16, 1941

CHI. MANUDI,

Let Ba get angry.[1] But we must do our duty. So ultimately you lost the purse containing eight rupees? Or did you find it afterwards? There was absolutely no need to give the pen to Vina. She handed it over to me. I have told her to keep it. Recover fully.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1578. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

443. LETTER TO SURENDRA B. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM,
February 16, 1941

CHI. SURENDRA,

What about the expenditure on medicine that was saved? If you take into account the money saved, your burden will increase. But I intend to waive all that. Ba was really very angry and said, "Why did you send for the girl here if you were going to charge her?" Henceforth I will not send for her at all. Such is my life. But be that as it may, I must do my duty.

I hope there is no danger to the baby Manu is carrying.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1579. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

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Jinnah, simply acknowledging his letter . . . Personally, I am not hopeful of success. I do not think I can persuade you to see him on behalf of the Hindu community, nor do I think I can persuade him to give up his point of view. Still I shall think over the matter and, if anything occurs to me which may be of any use, I shall act accordingly. Meanwhile, I am taking no action."

[1] *Vide* the following item; also p. 328.

444. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

February 16, 1941

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

A little irregularity regarding the vegetables is worth putting up with.[1] Whatever we do not need in the Ashram, we should be able to sell. You should consult the doctor about the future crop. We should be able to produce fresh and good vegetables.

If wheat goes bad, it has to be thrown away. Even the poor should do the same. How did our wheat go bad?

This Ashram shows no signs of closing down. It may have to change. Whatever happens would be the result of our, or say, my actions. Have patience.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1941

445. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO P. NARAYANA[2]

[Before *February 17, 1941*][3]

In my opinion the Magistrate's remarks[4] are libellous. There should be no appeal. I propose to take no notice of his remarks. He cannot harm the movement. He has harmed the Service he has disgraced.

The Hindu, 21-2-1941

[1] The addressee had complained that he was not able to assess the quantity of vegetables that was required at the Ashram and feared that the Ashram might close down owing to mismanagement.

[2]&[3] The addressee, a Congressman of Gudur, had drawn Gandhiji's "attention to the remarks made by the local Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Mr. R. Galletti, in his judgment in the cases against satyagrahis, and in his speech at the public meeting held in connection with the satyagraha offered by Enuga Narasa Reddi in Gudur, on February 1." The report appeared under the date-line "Gudur, February 17".

[4] According to *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II, p. 265, "Galletti was not merely stating from the bench that it was wrong on the part of the police to prosecute the smaller fry, leaving alone the prime movers who were the arch conspirators . . . but by joining public meetings and arguing

446. LETTER TO S. MALKINSON

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
INDIA,
February 17, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

I have carefully read your letter. There is confusion of thought in it. My pacifism cannot aid the Nazis. India has two sections. One section Britain is exploiting to the full. I represent the dumb millions who have ever been peaceful. The Nazi spirit is not new, only the name is new. If it dies it will die only by my method and no other.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

S. MALKINSON, ESQ.
133 PRINCESS STREET
PORT ELIZABETH
SOUTH AFRICA

From a photostat: G.N. 2168

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out with the people the pros and cons of the movement." The book explains that in one of his speeches, referring to Narasa Reddi's trial before him and Gandhiji's instruction to him to spin for fifteen days, subsequent to discharge order and to offer satyagraha again, Mr. Galletti "disputed the assertion of Mr. Reddi about spinning, and added that he would honour men of character though they were misguided, and expose those to ridicule who lacked it. Speaking on the war effort in his division, Mr. Galletti assured himself that the satyagrahis could not do anything 'prejudicial', even if Mr. Gandhi came and had his say." Referring to the correspondence between Gandhiji and E. E. Mack (*vide* pp. 315 and 329), Galletti is stated to have said that " 'Gandhiji, as everyone knew, would not go out of his spiritual determination.' He quoted the analogy of Quakers who had conscientious objection to war but at the same time came forward to the relief of the victims in war. The same was the view of Gandhiji. But what was the Provincial Congress Committee doing? There were a number of Congressmen who were angry with Gandhiji for his opinion on Congressmen's participation in Red Cross work. There were a few sincere Congressmen but most lacked honesty. Many of them . . . were inconsistent."

447. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 17, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I had replied to your previous letter. Now there is nothing for me but to wait. Rajendra Babu will go on like this. They will certainly send you the *Ashram Samachar* when it is published. But it is not published regularly. By 'Suraj Bhavan', I suppose you mean 'Swaraj Bhavan'[1]? Don't you stay now with Jayaprakash's brother-in-law[2]?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3553

448. *LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON*[3]

SEVAGRAM,
February 17, 1941

BHAI TANDONJI,

Make an inquiry into the matter and write to Abdus Samad Saheb also.[4]

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original: Purushottamdas Tandon Collection. Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] Motilal Nehru's bungalow at Allahabad

[2] Brijbihari Sahai

[3] Gandhiji had written this on the margin of Abdus Samad Ansari's letter to him complaining of corruption and anti-Muslim prejudice on the part of Congress members in electing chairman to Sultanpur District Board.

[4] In his reply dated March 4, the addressee said that A.S. Ansari's report was true; but he could not find any proof for the charges of corruption and the anti-Muslim prejudice.

449. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

February 18, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You did well in writing to me. It is your duty to draw my attention whenever my interference hurts you. There is no question at all of my feeling offended. If I myself break rules, who will observe them? Hence behind my seeming breach of a rule you will discover that I really observe it. If I had known about Kripalani, I would have stopped him. Nevertheless it is our duty when a guest turns up unexpectedly that we should spare for him some food even from the measured quantity that has been cooked. One should exercise one's discretion. The sparing of such food would be dharma only if it is willingly done by the person concerned. Ba's interference is of course to be regretted. But that is part of hernature. We have, therefore, no option but to put up with it. Ba has changed herself a great deal with patience. If I made more effort, she would improve still further. But I save my time. Yet I will see.

You must take charge of *datan*[1]. Anybody who uses one must pick it with his eyes shut. Nobody should select and choose. Those that are altogether bad should be thrown away.

Personally I would certainly like your making a liquid solution of soap. I think we are using too much soap. I do not know how to prevent this. See if you can think of some way. The matter should be discussed with all. The use of 501 soap must be stopped. Why shouldn't we ourselves make soft soap? See if you can do something about it.

I approve of the other changes you have suggested.

I am not surprised to learn that the kitchen is working all the time. There should be some arrangement for looking after it. The persons in charge must be *sthitaprajnas*[2]. If we have such persons, the whole set-up would function smoothly. If you need my help, ask for it. Do and persuade others to do everything with good humour. And be patient about what cannot be done.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8512. Also C.W. 7120. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Babul stick for brushing teeth

[2] Those of steadfast intellect

450. ABSTRACT OF LETTER TO ALI GUL KHAN

[Before *February 19, 1941*][1]

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi has sent a letter to Ali Gul Khan, President of the Frontier Congress Committee, expressing his agreement with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's suggestion that satyagrahis should remain in the Frontier Province to finish constructive work and thus there need be no march towards Delhi for the present.

Referring to those satyagrahis who want to postpone satyagraha on some pretext or another, Mahatma Gandhi is understood to have advised that their names should be struck off the list unless their case is undeniable.

Ali Gul Khan is forwarding the letter to Abdul Ghaffar Khan who is at Utmanzai.

The Hindu, 21-2-1941

451. LETTER TO GENERAL SECRETARY, ASSAM PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE[2]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 19, 1941

THE GENERAL SECRETARY
ASSAM PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
CONGRESS HOUSE
GAUHATI

DEAR FRIEND,

I showed your letter to the General Secretary dated the 16th February, 1941, to Gandhiji who has asked me to reply to you as follows:

He sees no objection whatsoever to Congressmen helping in the prohibition campaign started by the present Government, provided it does not affect the satyagraha campaign. That is to say, those who have signed the satyagraha pledge and are due to offer satyagraha on the dates given to them may not allow their decision to be affected by the campaign. You say:

[1] The report appeared under the date-line "Peshawar, February 19".

[2] A copy of this was forwarded to K. Chaliha, M.L.A., President, Jorhat District Congress Committee, and Krishnanath Sarma, Jorhat.

"Some Congressmen, mostly active satyagrahis, have been enrolled as members of prohibition committees and, in some cases, they have assumed responsible roles." But Shri Chaliha in his letter to Gandhiji dated 15th February, 1941, writes: "Congressmen who are offering services for this work are almost (all?) non-satyagrahis, and out of 150 members there are only a few satyagrahis." What is the truth? However, our duty is clear. Those who have not signed the satyagraha pledge may offer full co-operation to Government, and those who have, may do so until the date on which they are offering satyagraha.

Yours sincerely,
MAHADEV DESAI

A.I.C.C. File No. 1294 a, 1941. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

452. LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI

February 19, 1941

CHI. PRABHUDAYAL,

Whatever you do you must do it with Kakasaheb's consent and blessings. You may live anywhere you like but so long as you do not earn your bread through work, I shall not be satisfied.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11702

453. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO P. V. NAIDU[1]

[Before *February 20, 1941*][2]

If the Hindu Sabha was so inclined, it could partake in the reorganization of the Central Government, but the question of the Congress doing so would not arise so long as the Congress demand[3] remained unconceded.

Mahatma Gandhi is said to have told Dr. Naidu that the reply[4] given by him recently to an editorial in *The Times of India*, Bombay, fully represented the Congress position.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-2-1941

454. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 21, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I understand about Jayaprakash. What I meant[5] was that as long as you did not get work of your own choice there, you used to remain ill. Now your work has become your medicine. And that is how it should be. Our party will include Mahadev, Kanaiyo[6] and myself. We will reach [Allahabad] on the 27th

[1] According to the source, this was "stated to be the reply given by Mahatma Gandhi to the suggestions put forward by Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu, General Secretary, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, with a view to bring about a settlement of the political deadlock". According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1941*, Vol. I, p. 40, the addressee "had suggested from Madras that the Viceroy should invite a conference of the Premiers of the provinces and the Congress ex-Premiers, along with a certain number of leaders, nominated by the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, Sikhs, Christians and the Depressed Classes".

[2] The report appeared under the date-line "Nagpur, February 20".

[3] The reference is to the Working Committee resolution passed in Delhi on July 7, 1940; *vide* Vol. LXXII, Appendix IV.

[4] *Vide* pp. 321-4.

[5] *Vide* p. 331.

[6] Kanu Gandhi, son of Narandas Gandhi

evening. We may have to stay for a couple of days. I see that you also will reach the same evening.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3554

455. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 22, 1941

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I was sorry to learn about your illness.[1] Do please write only when you are quite well and strong.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU
19 ALBERT ROAD
ALLAHABAD, U.P.

From a photostat: G.N. 7580. Also C.W. 10287. Courtesy: National Library

456. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND

February 22, 1941

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

At last God gave you the strength to fulfil the vow. Congratulations. May the bride and the bridegroom be happy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 841

[1] *Vide* footnote 4, pp. 337-8.

457. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 22, 1941

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. Meet me at Allahabad itself. I was sorry to note the contents of the letter. We should accept the will of God.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani

458. FOREWORD TO "STATUS OF INDIAN PRINCES"

The following seven chapters are a result of Pyarelal's deep study of the status of the Princes of India. They should have been published in pamphlet form long ago, and would have been, but for my pre-occupation. The writer is himself behind jail walls. Therefore they are being published as they were written. They are an evergreen. They give to the busy public worker or student, in a compact form, an idea of the status of the Princes of whom there are nearly six hundred. The chief merit of the pamphlet is that it contains nothing but what is taken from authentic records. The existence of this gigantic autocracy is the greatest disproof of British democracy and is a credit neither to the Princes nor to the unhappy people who have to live under this undiluted autocracy. It is no credit to the Princes that they allow themselves powers which no human being, conscious of his dignity, should possess. It is no credit to the people who have mutely suffered the loss of elementary human freedom. And it is perhaps the greatest blot on British rule in India. But we are too near the event to realize the falsity called "Princes' India" or "Indian India". The system will break under its own intolerable weight. My humble non-violent effort is to induce all the three parties to wash the triple sin. Even one of them can take the decisive step and it will affect

all. But it will be glorious if the three together realize the enormity of the sin and by a combined effort wash it.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, February 23, 1941

Status of Indian Princes

459. ADVICE TO CALCUTTA SATYAGRAHIS[1]

[On or before *February 24, 1941*][2]

It would not be wrong if non-arrested satyagrahis tour the whole district for a month or two and then proceed to Delhi. Some may tour in the district and some may go to Delhi.

Referring to illiterate Harijan satyagrahis, Mahatma Gandhi says that if they do not march to Delhi or return after going half-way, they should do constructive work and may also learn reading and writing.

Mahatma Gandhi does not approve of the idea of batches of two, three or four satyagrahis proceeding to Delhi but wants everyone to go singly.

Answering another question, Mahatma Gandhi says that those not- proceeding to Delhi should offer satyagraha in their provinces.

To another query, "When people are told not to give food to satyagrahis, what should they do?", Mahatma Gandhi replied that they should buy food if they have money or starve or proceed further; no hard and fast rule can be laid down.

The Hindu, 26-2-1941

460. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

February 24, 1941

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Those who have observed fast on *Shivaratri*[3] night, should remember Siva and decide to become more pure and restrained.

[1]&[2] Gandhiji was "replying to satyagrahis from Calcutta, who sought his advice regarding their marching to Delhi". The report appeared under the date-line "Wardhaganj, February 24".

[3] The fourteenth night of the dark fortnight in *Magha* (January-February). In 1941, it was on February 24.

Make this clear to all the children.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1456. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

461. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 25, 1941

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got Sushila's beautiful letter. The description of the tour was good. I hope the collection also was good.

Here, at present, I am busy with the affairs of the struggle. By God's grace, I keep good health.

CHI. SITA[1],

I got your letter. Your English is still weak. But it will improve gradually. The handwriting is not bad. Do no forget Gujarati.

Taribehn's health has improved. She is in Delhi and will stay there for the present. I have forwarded your letters to her.

Manu is all right. Nanabhai[2] is thinking of settling down somewhere in Surat.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4920

462. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

February 25, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

You do not write. How then do you expect me to write? Mahadevbhai will write to you about Manubhai. I am very glad that Nanabhai reads the *Bhagavata* regularly. I will procure the book about the marriage ceremony and send it to you. Shastriji had a copy of the very same book published by Kaka. Annapoorna has not yet come here. Shastriji is again suffering these

[1] Daughter of Manilal Gandhi
[2] Nanabhai Ichchharam Mashruwala, Sushila Gandhi's father

days. I am going to Allahabad tomorrow to open the Kamala [Nehru] Hospital. We shall return on Sunday.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VIJAYABEHN
DAKSHINAMURTI GRAMBHAVAN
AMBLA, *via* SONGARH, KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7137. Also C.W. 4629. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

463. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

SEVAGRAM,
February 26, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I was more than pleased with what I saw yesterday. You may take the silence. I understand its value.[1] I shall inform Ashadevi.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6472. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9867

464. *NOTE TO PREMABEHN KANTAK*[2]

[Before *February 26, 1941*][3]

Tell Lilavatibehn[4] that she has to think of women as a class and not of herself. The rule should not be broken for the sake of a Congressman; nor should a woman be made a party to such breach.

[1] *Vide* also p. 330.

[2] & [3] The addressee was sentenced in the last week of November 1940 for three months' imprisonment. On her release, she went to Sevagram and asked Gandhiji several questions regarding women prisoners. Gandhiji wrote down the reply so that she could carry it with her during her second term of imprisonment, and in order that the women prisoners would not doubt its authenticity. Gandhiji left Sevagram on February 26.

[4] Lilavati Munshi who wanted to contest for the Mayorship of Bombay to put an end to the convention of elections by communal rotation

It is harmful for the woman too. But when it is the turn of a Christian, a woman from that community should be given the chance, just as a Hindu woman or a Muslim woman should be chosen when it is the turn of that community.

Women satyagrahis who are weak and diseased should not go to jail again. Moreover no woman can go to jail with her child.

It is better if 'A' and 'B' class prisoners avail less and less of their special privileges. In fact our ideal is not to enjoy any additional facilities other than those enjoyed by 'C' class prisoners.

The purpose behind payment of fine is only to remove the fear of fine as we have already overcome the fear of jail. It does not mean that fine should be paid by borrowing money. But we should not lose valuable things for a negligible price.

We have to presume that the struggle will be a prolonged one. Talks of compromise only betray our weakness. Rest assured, ultimate victory is ours.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10417. Also C.W. 6856. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

465. *ADVICE TO SIND ASSEMBLY CONGRESS PARTY*

[Before *February 27, 1941*][1]

The Azad Arrangement[2] should be adhered to, failing which the Congress members of the Assembly should help in dethroning the present Ministry[3] and support Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, in forming a new Ministry.[4]

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi had earlier expressed the opinion that in case the Azad Pact was broken, the Congress members should resign and come out of the Assembly, but on a reference being made to him whether he was still of the same opinion, Mahatma Gandhi expressed the above view, having learned in the meanwhile Maulana Azad's mind in the matter.

The Hindu, 1-3-1941

[1] The advice was reported under the date-line "Karachi, February 27".

[2] According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1941*, Vol. I, p. 255, the "Arrangement" was that "Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh and Sir Ghulam Hussain should be brought in . . . and an all-Party Government should be formed".

[3] With Bunde Ali Khan as Premier

[4] Allah Baksh formed the new Ministry on March 7.

466. SPEECH AT OPENING OF KAMALA NEHRU HOSPITAL, ALLAHABAD

February 28, 1941

Mahatma Gandhi, while expressing his delight at the completion of a great project[1] which was the fulfilment of the last wish of the late Mrs. Kamala Nehru, pointed out that the Kamala Nehru Hospital was one of the first of its kind from the point of view of architectural beauty, and the comforts provided for the patients might attract even maharanis. He, however, hoped that those responsible for running the day-to-day administration of the institution would not forget that the hospital was primarily intended for the poor whose interests should not be neglected, and service to the poor patients should be the motto of those in charge of the administration.

The Leader, 1-3-1941

467. A FOREWORD

[ALLAHABAD,
March 1, 1941][2]

I like Anand Hingorani's idea of collecting my writings under suitable heads. The reader will not fail to appreciate the labour he has given to securing attractive printing and binding.

M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani

468. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

March 1, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. My going there will serve no purpose and may even be harmful. Harmful because, if my visit results in failure, it may add to our disappointment. As it is, my meeting with Qaid-e-Azam appears to be an impossibility. But I have encouraged Rajaji to a great extent. He will of course try. We

[1] Its foundation-stone was laid by Gandhiji on November 19, 1939; *vide* Vol. LXX, pp. 365-6.

[2] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 335.

shall see what the result is. I think an agreement is not likely. We should do what we can without it. Inaction on our part in the hope of an agreement may result in serious harm. I am of the opinion that fruitful efforts can be made outside an agreement.

I hear your experiment is progressing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8052. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

469. SPEECH TO UNITED PROVINCES STUDENTS' FEDERATION[1], ALLAHABAD

March 1, 1941

The students cannot offer satyagraha unless they are ready to suspend their studies during the period of the Movement.

Mahatma Gandhi added that those who could not go to that length might do constructive work, specially the promotion of khadi and communal unity. It was undesirable that communal virus should infect the brains of the students.

Gandhiji also emphasized the need for discipline, which was necessary in any organization. Even violence, he remarked, needed discipline as was obvious from the example of Hitler.

Regarding the strikes, Gandhiji reiterated his previous statements[2] and warned the students against entering into party politics prematurely. He urged that the students should keep an open mind and study ideologies. He stressed that the students could play an important part in bringing about communal unity.

The Leader, 2-3-1941

[1] About 19 members of the Working Committee of the Federation met Gandhiji at Anand Bhavan in the morning; Ram Naresh Shukla, Balram Srivastava, Siddiq Ahmad, Hit Narain Singh and Madan Mohan Prasad were among them. The report said: "Mr. T. K. Chaturvedi, Convenor of the U.P. Students' Federation of the rival group, submitted today to Mr. Mahadev Desai for Mahatma Gandhi a memorandum deploring the present 'unfortunate split' in the Students' Federation, and repudiating the allegation that his group was opposed to the present national struggle and requesting Mahatma Gandhi to help them in bringing about unity amongst the students by blessing the plan of 'democratic elections' suggested in the memorandum."

[2] *Vide* pp. 176-7, 203-4 and 299-300.

470. LETTER TO SHANTI SWARUP

ON THE TRAIN,
March 2, 1941

BHAI SHANTI SWARUP,

I have your letter. Your argument is absolutely correct, and it should be acceptable to your relatives.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5677

471. LETTER TO ABDUL QAIYUM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 3, 1941

DEAR ABDUL QAIYUM,

It is good you have written to me. I was firmly of opinion that the report[1] should be published. But somehow or other it was not. I do not know that it will be wise now to publish it. But I shall consult Rajen Babu and Prof. Kripalani as also Sarojini Devi and see what should be done.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 1010. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] The addressee, Member, Indian Legislative Assembly, from North-West Frontier Province, in his letter dated February 26, had said: "In December 1939, I was ordered by Babu Rajendra Prasad, the then Congress President, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to proceed to Sind to hold an enquiry into the Sukkur communal riots and the Manzilgah dispute. . . . I gave my finding about the causes of the riot, and suggested the means of restoring communal harmony in that unfortunate province. As regards the Manzilgah, my finding was that it was a mosque, that it was undesirable to have a tribunal, that it should be restored to the Muslims who on their part should take their Hindu brethren back to the villages and should inspire confidence in them. . . . No doubt, in my report I have criticized our own organization in Sind with a view to reform it and make it more acceptable to the people. . . . Now that the judicial enquiry is also over and the Manzilgah has been restored by the Government to the Muslims, there is absolutely no justification for not publishing my report any longer. Let the people know what the findings of the Congress report are."

472. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

March 3, 1941

CHI. KUSUM,

How foolish you are! You are seriously ill and have not even informed me. You are still not well. Send your name[1] only when you are able to walk five miles daily without getting tired. Meanwhile do whatever service you can and get well. It will be better if you come over here and get yourself examined. Of course Mahadevbhai is always there. He has gone to Delhi today. Pyarelal will be released on the 6th.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KUSUMBEHN DESAI
MEHTA POLE, BARODA

From the Gujarati original: Kusumbehn Desai Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya

473. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 3, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I want Manubehn's account.[2] Expenses [incurred during her illness] have to be taken from her.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

What have you done about the rules[3]?

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4374

[1] For offering satyagraha

[2] *Vide* also p. 328.

[3] *Vide* letter to the addressee, p. 333.

474. *FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO KRISHNABAI PANAJIKAR*[1]

[Before *March 4, 1941*][2]

I can assure you that if you will give all your time to touring and to seeing that the best quality of people are coming in as satyagrahis, you will have done more work for the movement than you would do by going to jail. I would, therefore, ask you to be patient.

The Hindu, 6-3-1941

475. *LETTER TO FAREED ANSARI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 4, 1941

MY DEAR FAREED[3],

I was very glad to hear from you. I was unable to overtake your letter earlier. It was received when Kamala Memorial absorbed me exclusively.

Your speed is not bad. You must have gone up to 300 rounds per hour. Please congratulate Asaf Ali and Deshbandhu on their spinning.

I can well understand Brijkrishna taking the *Gita* class. I wish all of you will learn the two scripts—Urdu and Devanagari. It is a sad thing that Hindi and Urdu are going away from each other. It was not thus always. I wish you will all take common action in the direction.

I have not heard from Zohra[4] for a long time now.

I had a letter from Satyavati sometime ago. She threatens to come here but never succeeds.

[1]&[2] The addressee, Acting President of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, had sought his permission for offering satyagraha. The report appeared under the date-line "Hospet, March 4".

[3] Dr. M. A. Ansari's nephew

[4] Daughter of Dr. M. A. Ansari

In spite of the heat I seem to be keeping well.
Love to you all.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 10372

476. INTERVIEW TO SANKARAN[1]

WARDHAGANJ,
March 4, 1941

Door-to-door anti-war propaganda by Congress satyagrahis has been permitted by Mahatma Gandhi, provided the residents do not object. He added that this form of satyagraha would be resorted to from next week.

Mr. Sankaran said that Mahatma Gandhi approved another list of 1,607 Congressmen for offering satyagraha. He said that 140 satyagrahis from the South including five ladies, are now marching towards Delhi. Mahatma Gandhi has insisted that satyagrahis from the South should learn Hindi if they are to march towards Delhi.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-3-1941

477. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
March 5, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I liked your letter very much. Your ideal is fine indeed; but Kanaiyo will not be able to reach it. His mind was firm before Abha came into the picture. People have noticed that since then he has been unconsciously letting himself be drawn towards her. When I asked him, he felt that it was true. We can put off the engagement for the present, but that would only be like deceiving the people. The condition of Kanaiyo's mind, so far as I can see, is as follows: 'If I marry, it will be Abha, and if I cannot get Abha, I would prefer to remain unmarried.' My view is that Abha should wait for three or four years. Abha is of course growing fast. Even after my death, he will marry nobody but Abha. He is not of such an unsteady mind that he may change it any time. Besides, Abha seems to me to be a noble type of girl. Though she is not highly educated, she is lively. She understands Gujarati even

[1] The interviewer was the Secretary of Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee.

today. She always talks with Ba in that language. If both of them stay there, she will not spare herself in service. She would willingly serve anybody she is asked to serve. I shared your keen desire, but Kanaiyo does not have the strength to fulfil it. I now wish that both of you or Jamna[1] alone may come here and see Abha and meet her father. If Kanaiyo must marry, then from our point of view Abha is the chosen one. She possesses the ideals we look for.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II

478. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
March 6, 1941

I must warn the public against journalistic flights of imagination. No importance need be attached to my visits to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and there meeting quite accidentally Kunver Sir Jagdishprasad, then Pandit Malaviyaji and the morning following Shri Vijayalakshmi Pandit and finally Maulana Saheb Abul Kalam Azad. They were all of them friendly visits wholly unarranged when I left Sevagram for Allahabad. I had gone for one mission and that alone. What little other work I did was purely accidental. I refer to my meeting some students and Garhwali workers. Sir Tej Bahadur I went to see because he was ailing. We are old friends. He was to have come to see me but when I heard that he was ill I insisted on going to him. No doubt, we talked about the political situation and even more about the Hindu-Muslim problem. Sir Jagdish who dropped in and who was to dine at Sir Tej Bahadur's joined the conversation. But not the slightest political importance attaches to these conversations. We talked as individuals and not with regard to any mission. Sir Tej Bahadur is anxious (who is not?) to end the present deadlock. He would give anything to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. He ascribes to me overmuch capacity for bringing about unity. Sir Jagdish is no less anxious. But the talks were no more than a friendly interchange of views. As to the visits to Malaviyaji

[1] Addressee's wife
[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", p. 286.

Maharaj, the same thing happened. He has aged. He ought not to talk about current events. He is too weak. But the country's affairs are his daily food. He will cease to think about them when he ceases to read and think of the *Bhagvata* and the *Gita*. These things are the breath of his life and they will stop with the stoppage of his last breath. Who knows but that he will take them where the disembodied spirit goes. It was a privilege to meet these friends but our talks have no bearing on the political situation in the country. And there could be none in the purely prison visits to the Maulana and Shri Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

I know that the imaginary descriptions of such visits and the eagerness with which the public devour them show their desire for communal unity and a solution of the political deadlock. But mere desire will take us no nearer its fulfilment. For fulfilment can only come through common action on the part of those who share the desire. All are searching for common action. Speculation interferes with the search. So far as the Congress is concerned, its policy and action based thereon are well known. It is gross misrepresentation to suggest that the Congress is out for securing terms for itself. Freedom of speech is for all even as independence will be for all. The contents of the latter will be decided not by the Congress but by the vote of all. And if it is to be achieved non-violently it follows that the mere vote of the majority will have little play. The charter of independence must be the product of the willing consent of the minorities and other relevant interests which are not in conflict with the interests of the vast mass of Indian humanity.

Be this as it may, in order that all the units may have full freedom of expression even against the war itself, the Congress has embarked upon civil disobedience. That is the contribution of the Congress to the fulfilment of the common desire. As an effort in direct action it must hold the field till a better is found.

Strong objection has been raised against my interpretation of the Bombay resolution. I regard it as a true interpretation. But it is that of an individual. I have no authority from the Congress to interpret or vary the Congress resolutions. That is essentially the function of the President, the Working Committee and finally the A.I.C.C. The only authority I have is to conduct the campaign of civil disobedience. But when the time for settlement comes it will be for the Working Committee to decide what the terms shall be. My contribution will be confined to advising the Committee. The Working Committee may reject the interpretation I have given. It or the A.I.C.C. may even alter the resolutions

they have passed. Meanwhile let everyone whether Congressmen or others be guided by the Bombay resolution and not by my interpretation. I have, therefore, failed to understand the consternation created by my statement[1] that there can be no settlement short of independence during the pendency of the war.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942. File No. 3/42/41-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

479. LETTER TO SHERWOOD EDDY

SEVAGRAM,
March 6, 1941

DEAR DR. EDDY,

I thank you for your kind letter. It would be well if you make a general statement[2].

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHERWOOD EDDY
52 VANDER BILL AVENUE
N. Y. CITY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

480. LETTER TO SUSAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 6, 1941

DEAR DR. SUSAI,

Your case is hard. But the remedy is in your hands. If the Church is as bad as Hinduism, and if you have no conscientious scruples, you should revert to your original faith. If you do not, surely you should suffer the fate of reformers and purge the Catholic Church of the blot.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5739

[1] *Vide* "Letter to *The Times of India*", p. 323.

[2] The addressee misquoted Gandhiji in his book *I Saw God Do It*, saying that in answer to one of his questions Gandhiji expressed belief in favour of armed defence and that too with the help of America or some neutral army. Gandhiji expressed denial of the answer in *Harijan*, 28-7-1940 (*vide* Vol. LXXII, pp. 282-3), and suggested to the addressee to have the mistake rectified.

481. LETTER TO ISWAR SARAN

March 6, 1941

DEAR MUNSHIJI,

Your letter. It was not trouble but joy to visit the Ashram which you have built up with patient effort. I should repeat the visit whenever possible. Your institution is worthy of full public support. May you live long to serve this essential cause of humanity.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI MUNSHI ISWAR SARAN
HARIJAN ASHRAM
ALLAHABAD

From a copy: C.W. 10289. Courtesy: Allahabad Municipal Museum

482. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL MAJMUDAR

March 6, 1941

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

You have done nothing wrong in issuing the statement. Ambalalbhai has told me, though, that as long as Sardar is in jail, he will shoulder the responsibility. Please do not make public use of this fact. And let not his [willingness to do so] slacken our effort. On the contrary, we should intensify it. Collecting a pice each from the common people would be more befitting and yield fine results.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3967. Also C.W. 151. Courtesy: Parikshitlal Majmudar

483. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
March 6, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I consider this a serious mistake. Regarding your honesty, I have no doubt; but carelessness is a great defect. In accounts there should not be a mistake even of a pie. A pie entered more or less in accounts can result in a mistake of a thousand, and it has happened before. Accounts should be written daily. Not only this, every item should be entered then and there, as is done in banks.

It is not good that you have given up [writing the accounts]. What Chimanlal said was correct, but by asking his pardon you should have kept the work to yourself. This can be done even now if you wish. The atonement for this is that whatever the deficit make it up by getting the money from home. Clearly specify the reason for doing so.

There is no cause for shame. By accepting the fault publicly, your burden will be lightened, and others too will learn a lesson.

Ask anything more if you wish to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4375

484. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 7, 1941

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I hope you have kept free of fever. If you propose to invite Qaid-e-Azam and me, I shall of course present myself.[1] But I

[1] In his letter (C.W. 10290) dated March 2, the addressee had asked Gandhiji: "Supposing some of us, who are meeting in Bombay on March 13, decide to invite you and Mr. Jinnah and just a few other leaders at a conference to be held later on some suitable date and at a convenient place to talk over matters of difference, how will you view it?"

would urge you to think fifty times before issuing these invitations. Failure would be bad. And what I fear is that the time for communal settlement has not come. But you need not mind my caution, if you feel otherwise.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7579. Also C.W. 10291. Courtesy: National Library

485. LETTER TO CHAMANLAL

SEVAGRAM,
March 7, 1941

DEAR CHAMANLAL,

I must look at your book[2] and send you something.

Yes, I would like you for the present to concentrate on Harijan work. Offer your services to Mohanlal of Lalaji's Society. He is in charge of that work on behalf of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. No one works separately in my name. Put yourself also in touch with Shri Rameshwari Nehru whom you must know. Later on, if all is well you will offer civil disobedience, if required. You should spin regularly, make your own slivers and learn the science of the charkha.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] In his reply (C.W. 10292) dated March 10, the addressee said: "You may be sure that I am in no hurry to invite you and Mr. Jinnah to a conference and shall never do so without first consulting you."

[2] *Hindu America?* The addressee had requested Gandhiji for a short message for its new edition. *Vide* also "Letter to Chamanlal", 22-3-1941.

486. LETTER TO LAKSHMI SATYAMURTI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 7, 1941

DEAR LAKSHMI,

Tell father he had no business to fall ill as he has done. He must learn to avoid anxiety and he will sleep well.[1]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: S. Satyamurti Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

487. ADVICE TO SYED MAHMUD[2]

[Before *March 8, 1941*][3]

An ailing satyagrahi is a liability for the Government. In jail, he indirectly embarrasses the authorities and as such it is against the spirit of the present satyagraha movement.

While not permitting him to offer satyagraha, Mahatma Gandhi is understood to have asked Dr. Mahmud to come to Wardha for recouping his health.

The Hindu, 10-3-1941

[1] *Vide* also p. 268.

[2&3] The addressee, who had been ailing for some time, had sought Gandhiji's permission to court arrest in the second week of March. The report appeared under the date-line "Patna, March 8".

488. CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON[1]

WARDHAGANJ,
March 8, 1941

AGATHA HARRISON
2 CRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE ROAD, LONDON

STRUGGLE PROCEEDING STEADILY BUT VERY GENTLY. GOVERNMENT STATEMENT PALPABLY MISLEADING INDEED FALSE.[2] BUT HAVE NOT LOST HOPE OF NON-VIOLENCE BEING EFFECTIVE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1518. Also File No. 3/33/40-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

489. LETTER TO GURBAX SINGH SANT[3]

SEVAGRAM,
March 8, 1941

DEAR DR. SANT,

All things considered you should adhere to the decision to offer civil disobedience.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's cable dated March 6, which read: "Your words in 'Andrews Legacy' are ever before me as I know they are before you. Would welcome informative cable." For the note referred to, *vide* Vol. LXXI, pp. 408-9.

[2] This sentence was scored out by the censor.

[3] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated March 5, in which he had asked Gandhiji's opinion as to whether he should offer civil disobedience or do constructive work.

490. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH[1]

March 8, 1941

Yes, do put Keshav on his own job, but give him whatever help he may need.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8511. Also C.W. 7126. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

491. LETTER TO KOTWAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
Marh 8, 1941

BHAI KOTWAL,

1. The better course would be for you to offer satyagraha in your district.

2. On the way to Delhi, in the territories of Indian States, you should not shout any slogans about the war but should do propaganda for constructive activities as you go along. You cannot travel by train.

3. There is no need to send any statement to the authorities. It is enough that you have sent it once.

4. If the residents of Indian States are brought back to their own States, they may start the march again. After reaching Delhi on foot, you may ask me [what to do next]. It will be a long time before you do that, and I cannot, therefore, say anything today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3603

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter which sought Gandhiji's advice on giving the management of the Ashram kitchen to Keshav.

492. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

March 8, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I have your letter. We were all waiting for it. It is good that you have peace of mind. It is true that I no longer have faith in Amrita Lal. But how can I tell you to sever relations with him because of it? Yes, if you also feel that he is not trustworthy, it is your duty to break off with him.

Yes, Mirabehn has come. She remains cheerful. She is all right but she keeps harping on the same thing.[1] She is hopeful and does not worry. She passes her time in taking the name of God and spinning. She stays alone in Balkrishna's[2] hut. She comes to see me on Wednesdays and Saturdays in the evening.[3] Rest of the time she observes silence.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR PRITHVI SINGH
P.O. Box 360
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10862. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

493. LETTER TO NIRMALANANDA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
March 9, 1941

DEAR BHIKSHU,

I have your letter. You should go on as you are doing. Why should anybody go to an ashram with a gold watch? However it would be good if your appeal bears fruit.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1395

[1] She wanted to marry the addressee whereas the latter looked upon her as his sister; *vide* also Vol. LXXII, pp. 371-2.

[2] Balkrishna Bhave

[3] *Vide* p. 330.

494. LETTER TO ABRAHIM RAHIMTOOLA

March 9, 1941

DEAR SIR,

I was delighted to see your firm signature. I am running a close race with you but you can't be reached, I see. I shall make time to glance through your pamphlets. I hope you are keeping as fresh as your signature.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

495. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI PATEL

March 9, 1941

CHI. DAHYABHAI,

If the accompanying can be sent to Sardar, send it or hand it over unsealed.

I trust your family life is all right and Babu[1] is cheerful. Remember that Shantikumar and you have to collect twenty lakhs.[2] I hope for the best.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[PS.]

If you see Manibehn, tell her that she must improve her health a lot.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, pp. 160-1

[1] Bipin Dahyabhai Patel, addressee's elder son

[2] Shantikumar Morarjee and the addressee had agreed to collect the sum for khadi production.

496. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

March 9, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I deliberately refrain from writing to you. Mahadev is in Delhi and I was, therefore, tempted by the sight of Dahyabhai's handwriting. Things are going well. There are bound to be a few black sheep among the good ones[1]. But they are the fewest this time. The thing is bound to be protracted, but that is in our interest. There is no room for defeat. I hope everybody there spins with a living faith. My own faith in spinning, my nature being what it is, is becoming stronger. Bharatananda's[2] little inventions make everything quite inexpensive. I keep excellent health.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
POONA

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 246

497. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 9, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Amrita Lalji says whoever wants fruits and vegetables takes them away. The key is not in the custody of one particular person. How is this? Satisfy Amrita Lalji and hand over the key to him.

[1] Taking part in Individual Civil Disobedience movement

[2] Maurice Frydman, a Polish engineer in Mysore State, who gave up his job and went to Sevagram; he was the inventor of the spinning-wheel known as *Dhanush Takli*.

Give this to Chhajuramji. Arrange his bed outside the verandah in the open.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4376

498. LETTER TO RAGHUVANSH GAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
March 9, 1941

BHAI RAGHUVANSH[1],

Rajkumaribehn went over to you on my instructions, and conveyed only my views. The letter written to . . .[2] behn is all right. Now you should go home. Whatever can be done from here will be done. Railway fare will be given to you, which you will send back on reaching Kanpur.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 139

499. INSTRUCTIONS TO CONGRESS COMMITTEES

[Before *March 10, 1941*][3]

Mahatma Gandhi has issued instructions to the Andhra and the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committees not to bring persons from districts for the purpose of offering satyagraha in the city of Madras. He has also instructed that the house-to-house satyagraha should in no way take the form of picketing and that satyagrahis should not enter houses where they would be unwelcome.[4]

The Hindustan Times, 11-3-1941

[1] Of Old Instructional Farm, Nawalganj, Kanpur
[2] Two words are mutilated in the source.
[3] The report appeared under the date-line "Madras, March 10".
[4] *Vide* also "Interview to Sankaran", p. 357.

500. LETTER TO SACHINDRA NATH MITRA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 10, 1941

DEAR SHRI S. N. MITRA,

Your letter to Gandhiji has come. He is unable to attend to much correspondence these days. If you have read *Harijan* carefully, you would have known his views on the militarization of India or indeed any country. A satyagrahi who believes in out-and-out non-violence can never stand for militarization of India under any circumstances. But such are few and far between. The majority believe in non-violence for achieving our independence but cannot get as far as condemning war weapons and machinery for defence from external aggression. This, as you rightly say, requires boundless faith in non-violence as a living creed and the only way to save the world from destruction.

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

SHRI SACHINDRA NATH MITRA
5/2 KANTAPUKUR LANE
BAGHABAZAR
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 7184

501. INTERVIEW TO KANNAMWAR[1]

WARDHA,
[Before *March 11, 1941*][2]

If any employee of a local body desires to offer satyagraha, he must resign his post first.

Mahatma Gandhi appears to have argued that an employee of a local body, who wishes to offer satyagraha, could not look for support to the employing local body.

He should come in the field with clean hands, keeping full confidence in God.

[1]&[2] Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee; the interview was reported under the date-line "Nagpur, March 11".

Mahatma Gandhi added that a local body with a Congress majority should not resist the policy of the Government of withholding grant to that body if its employees were participating in the satyagraha movement.

The Hindu, 13-3-1941

502. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 12, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I have your letter. You need not feel sorry for Mirabehn. She believes that she had the same relationship with you in a previous birth and it will be the same in future also. That you have forgotten it in this birth is a matter both for sorrow and joy for her. Mirabehn has made this a spiritual thing and is doing *tapasya*. She reads Puranas and such other books and spins for hours daily. She spins at least 1,800 rounds and remains cheerful.[1]

I have had a very bitter experience of Bhai Amrita Lal. But since your experience is contrary to mine, I do not wish to say anything. Follow the dictates of your heart.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10863. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

503. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 14, 1941

MY DEAR AMRIT,

These partings must come.[2] They must be cheerfully borne.

Your *gadi* is occupied by K[3]. Don't worry. Keep your times there as far as possible.

The library room is undergoing innovation.

[1] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 367.
[2] The addressee had left for Delhi.
[3] Bharatan Kumarappa

Amtul Salaam is the same as when you left her. Sita[1] has fever.

My [blood-pressure] reading was 156/98. Heat has commenced today. I have a wet wrapper on the head.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3908. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7307

504. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 14, 1941

Leaving aside what I have deleted, the rest is worth taking. For the permanent residents of the Ashram the vow which I have drafted is essential, otherwise the Ashram cannot become stable.

For setting up the committee suggested in it, send immediately the list of rules after making the necessary changes.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4377

505. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 15, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I wrote yesterday. Herewith Bh[aratan Kumarappa]'s letter.

Padmaja[2] has arrived. Have not met her yet. Gosibehn[3] goes today. Pyarelal came in last night. He has gone to Nagpur for his teeth. Mahadev Desai is still between Bombay and Poona. My blood-pressure: 156/90. All well otherwise. Sita out of fever today. Sharma leaves tomorrow. Amtul Salaam still on fast-diet. Shastri shows distinct progress.

I hope you are having good time. You were to have wired but there is none yet. *Ashirvad*[4] to Nandan[5] and Raksha[6].

BAPU

[1] Wife of Bharatan Kumarappa
[2] Padmaja Naidu, daughter of Sarojini Naidu
[3] Gosibehn Captain, grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji
[4] Blessings
[5] & [6] Raghunandan Saran and his wife

[PS.]

Your wire has come. Thank God.

From the original: C.W. 3999. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7308

506. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 15, 1941

CHI. KANCHAN,

Tari is of course lazy, but aren't you also like her? Why is there no letter of acknowledgement from you? How is Tari? What about your diet? How are you? Do you cook everything yourself? Help as much as you can in the Ashram. You can even take your meals in the Ashram kitchen. Take part in the prayers, etc. Teach them to make bread. How are you keeping there? Ask Tari to write to me, I am all right. It seems Shastriji's wounds are healing up. Mahadev has gone to Bombay. I still give Amtul Salaam only *bhaji* soup. She does take honey, of course. Munnalal is fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8275. Also C.W. 7127. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

507. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
March 15, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I was waiting for your letter. You have become lazy and then you ask for pardon. You should have immediately dropped a post-card. Jayaprakash is right in saying that just now you will be able to come only for a few days. You cannot of course cure his illness. Can you see him every day? When do they bring him to the hospital? How are the conditions in jail? Rajkumari has gone to Delhi. Mahadev is either in Bombay or in Poona. Gosibehn is here. Padmaja arrived today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3555

508. LETTER TO VITHALDAS V. JERAJANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 15, 1941

BHAI VITHALDAS,

Since the Gandhi Seva Sena is certified by the A.I.S.A., shouldn't the latter have a place in the *Khadi Patrika*?

Shri Gosibehn desires to work among Muslim women. She will work chiefly through khadi. Please, therefore, guide and help her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9798

509. FOREWORD TO "THE PARTING OF THE WAYS"[1]

The Parting of the Ways should have appeared when it was finished, i.e., immediately after August 10. By some mischance it has escaped publication till now. It has just come into my possession. I understand that some portions of the article have already appeared in *Asia*. I think it is too precious a document to be withheld from the public. I have shown it to Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Acharya Kripalani who are in Wardha. They agree with me that it should be published on behalf of the A.I.C.C. I know that Sarojini Devi, if she was here, would also agree.

I believe that it correctly represents in moderate, though forcible language, the Congress position.

The passages quoted above[2] are key paragraphs. The first extract shows what might have been. The second declares the author's love for the British people. The third shows in the fewest possible words how the British Government in India is sustained by coercion pure and simple. The fourth paragraph shows that the independence India wants is neither exclusive nor antagonistic to any nation.

[1] Written by Jawaharlal Nehru, this article dated August 10, 1940, was published by the A.I.C.C. on March 18, 1941.

[2] *Vide* Appendix XI.

Though the author has said not one word about non-violence, he has led the reader to the inevitable conclusion that the independence of Jawaharlal's conception, nay, Congress conception cannot be won except through unadulterated non-violence, and the present struggle is an attempt to keep the spirit of non-violence alive in the midst of the fratricidal inhuman carnage. If it is a contribution to India's freedom it is no less contribution to world peace.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, March 16, 1941

The Parting of the Ways

510. LETTER TO SACHINDRA NATH MITRA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
March 16, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Rajkumari is away. Digest my writings still further and if doubt still haunts you, write to me after two months.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7185

511. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 16, 1941

CHI. MRIDULA,

I have read your statement about Vikasgriha[2]. Pushpabehn[3] and you seem to be working hard and devoting yourselves to public service. You, therefore, desire to serve both men and women. Your institution is a valuable shelter for poor girls. You have the strength for such a tough job. May God increase it. The obstacles created by elders are a painful thing. But it is good that all are not of that type. If some of them obstruct your work, there are others who help you. You must, of course, take the necessary legal

[1] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 371.
[2] Founded in 1937 at Ahmedabad
[3] Pushpabehn Mehta, a social worker

steps. But the best remedy for the goondaism that you see is a vigilant public opinion. In order to cultivate it you should give publicity to incidents of that type.

Your scheme for a building for the Vikasgriha is a good one. Of course, the utmost simplicity will have to be observed. The building and style of living [of the inmates] should be such as will befit a poor country like India. You certainly deserve financial help for this building project. I hope you will get it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Gujarati: Report of Vikasgriha

512. *INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS*[1]

[Before *March 17, 1941*]

Don't bring persons from villages into towns for offering satyagraha.

Satyagrahis, if not arrested, may do house-to-house propaganda but it should not take the form of picketing. Satyagrahis should not enter the houses where they are not welcome.

Persons serving in local bodies should resign from the services before offering satyagraha.

When a Congress Committee is suspended, its work should be entrusted to an approved satyagrahi.

Lady satyagrahis, if unable to march to Delhi, may tour in their own districts and province.

Satyagrahis marching to Delhi should obtain a working knowledge of Hindustani.

Satyagrahis charged under the Nuisance Act may not offer any defence. They may make it clear that their sole intention was to carry on anti-war propaganda, and plead not guilty to the nuisance charge.

Harijan Congress workers should devote themselves to constructive work.

Satyagrahi prisoners may refuse food only if it is unwholesome and uneatable.

Satyagrahis who are let off with fines should continue the satyagraha without giving a fresh notice.

Satyagrahis able to pay the fine may not evade payment, but are not bound to sell their property to pay it.

[1] Issued by A.I.C.C. as "instructions given by Mahatma Gandhi for the guidance of satyagrahis"

For the facility and convenience of village folk, non-arrested satyagrahis should be provided with a certificate or a badge on the authority of the Provincial Congress Committee, testifying to his being an approved satyagrahi. The badge may differ from province to province.

Satyagraha may not be offered in a place where Section 144 is in force.

Fetters and handcuffs, etc., should be borne cheerfully when being transferred from one jail to another.

Non-arrested satyagrahis marching to Delhi should, besides raising anti-war slogans and otherwise carrying on anti-war propaganda, propagate the constructive programme of the Congress. It must be explained to the masses that the best and most effective as also the easiest way in which they can help forward the struggle is by carrying out the constructive programme laid before the country by our leader.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-3-1941

513. ABSTRACT OF LETTER TO M. FAROOQUI[1]

[Before *March 17, 1941*][2]

The view that there should be no dissensions among students is expressed by Mahatma Gandhi. . . .

Mahatma Gandhi, in reply, has now suggested the acceptance of the proposal[3] that all disputes be referred to an impartial tribunal acceptable to both parties on whom its findings should be binding.

The Hindu, 19-3-1941

[1]&[2] The addressee, General Secretary, All-India Students' Federation, "had informed Gandhiji of the developments in the controversy that followed among students' organizations after the recent conference at Nagpur when a split occurred". The letter was reported under the date-line "New Delhi, March 17".

[3] The report said: "This proposal for a tribunal was first put forward by Prof. Kalelkar, who was of the view that it should examine all matters under dispute including primary membership of both bodies and then order fresh elections in provinces where such a course was deemed necessary."

514. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 17, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Here are some enclosures. Do send your voting paper before the due date. I won't guide you in your selection. Vote as you like.

I sent nothing yesterday.

Pyarelal offers civil disobedience tomorrow.

Mahadev returns not before Thursday. Probably *Harijan* will be out on 29th.[1] Shastri is getting on. Heat continues.

Blood-pressure is under control; not taken at the time of writing.

Your umbrella is being used.

Prabhavati came in yesterday. She goes back to Jayaprakash tomorrow, if I am ready for her.[2]

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Later your two letters have come in. I am writing[3] to Mridula. Can't tell off-hand what to do. B. P. 138/90.

From the original: C.W. 3670. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6479

515. APPEAL FOR C. F. ANDREWS MEMORIAL FUNDS

WARDHAGANJ,
March 18, 1941

The handsome public response to the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital[4], though late, yet not too late, prompts this appeal. Even as I had made that collection my special duty because of the promise made by me to Kamala when she went to Europe, as it

[1] *Vide* Appendix XII.
[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Prabhavati", p. 374.
[3] *Vide* pp. 376-7.
[4] Opened by Gandhiji at Allahabad on February 28; *vide* p. 352.

turned out, to meet death, so is incumbent on me the duty of collection for the Andrews Memorial. I might have failed in collecting for the Kamala Memorial but for the tireless labours of Dr. Jivraj Mehta. I have no counterpart to Dr. Jivraj Mehta for the Andrews Memorial collection.

The first anniversary of Deenabandhu's death will be soon upon us. I am too weak and too occupied to travel about for collections. What is, however, tantalizing is the fact that the collections have not been coming promptly and spontaneously. Charlie Andrews was everybody's friend in need. He made no distinction between the high and the poor or Christians and non-Christians or Englishmen and others. He ungrudgingly assisted all who were in need of his help. He slaved night and day for humanity. He found his home and self-expression in Santiniketan. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was his guru and friend. He was the chief collector of funds for Santiniketan. No more fitting memorial could, therefore, be conceived than that his home should never be in want and that it should have additional funds for expansion. Indeed the Gurudev himself should command all the monetary help he needs. He has brought lustre to India. Many men have derived signal assistance from him and his institution. Their children are receiving instruction in Santiniketan. His art decorates many an Indian home. His poetry, his novels, plays and his art enrich the minds of thousands of boys and girls, men and women.

It is a problem why these two precious names have not brought forth spontaneous response. Why should there be special appeals made on behalf of a memorial which is its own complleing recommendation? A spontaneous response will delight Deenabandhu's spirit and put new life into Rabindranath Tagore. What answer have students and teachers, friends of labour and lovers of art to make? Among them they can produce the paltry Rs. 5,00,000 in a day. Will they produce the amount before the 5th April, the day on which Deenabandhu, that true friend of the poor, took sleep from which he never awoke?

The Hindu, 20-3-1941

516. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 18, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your two letters. Herewith copy [of] letter[1] to friend Farooqui.

Pyarelal was arrested today, judgment tomorrow.

In haste.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4000. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7309

517. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 18, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I approve of your resolution. See that your health does not suffer. Make a trial. If you are not ready this time, then try again the next time. In this matter, of course, whatever you have learnt will prove useful. That you will have to strive so hard shows how weak we are.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8522. Also C.W. 7122. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] For an abstract, *vide* p. 378.

518. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO TILAK BAL MANDAL[1]

[Before *March 19, 1941*][2]

There are no personal disputes between me and Bose brothers. There is a difference of ideology and that cannot be helped.

I am as unaware of Subhas Babu's whereabouts as any man in the street.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-3-1941

519. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 19, 1941

DEAR SIR MIRZA[3],

I must thank you for your most affectionate letter. I have never doubted your personal affection for me, I was going to say even partiality. These are things I treasure. They please me but what I want is true co-operation, if my mission of peace and goodwill is to succeed.

Since you would know what I would like, I reduce to writing my thoughts as they come to me.

I am quite clear in my mind that there is little real freedom of speech in British India, there is still less in 'Indian India' and there is no independent judiciary. Unfortunately you hold a different view. Hence there is not much prospect of co-operation. I am sure you will one day be convinced of this fundamental truth. Till then we must agree to differ. Your Chief Justice is wholly unfit for the post he holds. How can there be real justice! I know that in British India too there have been unfit Chief and other Justices. My point is that they become worse on going to the States. I feel these things keenly because I am the only true friend among public

[1]&[2] This was in reply to an appeal by the Mandal in Karachi requesting Gandhiij "to sink the differences and unite for the attainment of India's political freedom". The report appeared under the date-line "Karachi, March 19".

[3] Dewan of Mysore

men of the Princes. This is a high but true claim. You are about to leave. How I wish you can see truth as I feel it!

By way of palliative you can restore the *sanads* and redress the wrong done to those candidates who were rejected.[1] Such a step will be appreciated. It won't be of much use because the lawyers have turned the punishment to good account and they have become workers. The rejected candidates have reconciled themselves to the rejection. But as a gesture, if you can take the step, it will have a value.

Don't please expect Bhashyam or others to seek an interview with you but send for them as friends. Trust will beget trust. Surely the first step should be yours.

I am asking Pattabhi[2] to see you as early as he can.

I know that even in your retirement, you will be doing useful service. May you have many years before you and may you be an instrument for doing some truly big work.

Your sandal-wood box is always by my side and holds my odds and ends.

This is a personal letter. I am not copying it. I have not written it for any public use, nor do I expect a reply unless you feel like sending one. My love to all members of the family.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Since writing this I have your letter regarding garlic for which many thanks.

From a photostat: G.N. 2182

520. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 19, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Here is letter about Gaur. What can be done?[3]

[1] *Vide* also "Note to K. T. Bhashyam", p. 309.

[2] Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya; he was member of the Standing Committee of the All-India States Peoples' Conference. He was authorized, along with Jawaharlal Nehru, to represent it before the Working Committee of the Congress.

[3] *Vide* also "Letter to Raghuvansh Gaur", p. 370, and "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 391.

Do you remember that little ointment-box that Radhakishen[1] brought for Janakibehn[2]? Where could it be? I think I gave it to you to put away in a place of safety. If you remember it, you may even wire or write just as you like.

Pyarelal has got six months.

Mahadev comes tomorrow.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3671. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6480

521. *LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 19, 1941

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I got your letter addressed to Ba. Manu's examination has lasted a long time, but it is better that she stays in the hospital till some definite treatment is decided upon. Tell Manu that she must not get tired of the hospital. Ba goes on worrying. I don't. I know that only in a hospital can all the facilities be available. I am happy that you are keeping well.

Here it has started getting quite hot.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Today I got Nilubhai's[3] letter. I will write to Brahmananda later. It is still not clear to me whether or no Chi. Surendra has paid the money[4] to the Ashram here.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9746. Also C.W. 726. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

[1] & [2] Nephew and wife of Jamnalal Bajaj

[3] Nilkanth Mashruwala

[4] Spent on Manubehn Mashruwala's treatment; *vide* "Letter to Surendra B. Mashruwala", p. 328.

522. *LETTER TO GHULAM RASUL QURESHI*

March 19, 1941

CHI. QURESHI,

I got your letter three days ago but failed to reply by oversight. I had taken the letter to Allahabad. I could not get a minute there. Then it was buried beneath other letters. Today on Amtul Salaam reminding me, I got it out immediately.

Compliments to you all for making good use of the time you have on hand. It should be so. Congratulations to all.

You yourself have got this valuable opportunity for clarifying your thoughts. It is but natural that people expect a lot from you.

Maulana has somehow not been able to go beyond two parts.

I am making Kishorelal responsible for the literature. He will send it.

Superficial non-violence is when a man is not killed or even attacked physically. The subtle kind is when no one is hurt in thought, word or deed and when the welfare of all mankind is at heart. In normal circumstances the idea of non-violence is limited to man only. But truly speaking there is no limit at all. It can be extended to animals and even germs. But one does not go that far nor can one do so. But non-violence is normally extended to animals. I do not talk of such non-violence in respect of the Congress. Nor can one do so. It would not suit the Muslims. Nor would it suit Christians and countless Hindus. So the observance of subtle non-violence about which I talk is limited to man. I think it is enough if we reach that stage. Something is bound to come out of it in due time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10770. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasul Qureshi

523. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 20, 1941

BHAI VALLABHRAM,

By all means tour the Himalayas and collect medicinal herbs. Come over whenever you wish to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2913. Courtesy: Vallabhram Vaidya

524. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 20, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. It is good indeed that you went. Remember, you have to come here when your work there is over. The packet to Jawaharlal is being sent by book-post. Things are all right here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3556

525. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

March 20, 1941

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have heard from you after a long time. Aren't you with the Scindias? If not, what are you doing? Tell Harjivan[1] to take cod-liver oil. Let him not think it is objectionable. Let Mridula[2] cook and also study at the same time. Her education will shine

[1] Harjivan Kotak
[2] Manu J. Gandhi, addressee's daughter

all the better. Give up hopes of getting a good maid-servant. I understand about Abhechand.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./XXIV

526. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
March 20, 1941

CHI. KUSUM,

I have your letter. You have walked much more with me than what you say. There is a gentleman here who is of the same age as you. He could not walk even a furlong. Now he is able to walk miles. What can I do if you are lazy? You will be allowed [to join] only after you get over your lethargy and shine in constructive work. For you that is the only rule. I saw your letter to Ba. Since I have written to you, Ba must have given up the idea of writing to you. She keeps well. I will make you all right if you come here and get yourself treated.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Kusumbehn Desai Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya

527. APPEAL TO CONGRESS WORKERS

March 21, 1941

The National Week[1] will be soon upon us. Its observance has a double purpose: (1) to achieve self-purification through fasting on the 6th and 13th April, and (2) to increase mass consciousness by greater concentration on constructive work. The 6th of April 1919 saw exhibition of a sudden and unexpectedly high spirit of swadeshi and mass manifestation of communal unity and a determination on the part of Congress Hindus to get rid of the canker of untouchability from Hinduism. The spirit of swadeshi centred itself on khadi as it was the central village industry of a universal character. During the twenty years since 1919 the constructive programme has widened. The other village industries have found expression

[1] Observed in commemoration of the total *hartal* on April 6, 1919, in protest against the Rowlatt Act (Bill No. 29, 1919) and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre on April 13 of the same year

through the A.I.V.I.A.[1] Education has been linked with the villagers through Hindustani Talimi Sangh. There has been greater concentration on impressing women in the national service and, therefore, regarding them as valued co-workers on a par with men. The widening and working of the constructive programme is the only way in which active non-violence can express itself. Civil disobedience comes, if it must, at the end of the constructive programme, never in the beginning. We saw through experience that we had to retrace our steps in 1919 as civil resistance had been resorted to without preparation through constructive service. Disobedience of laws can never be civil unless the resisters have learnt the art of voluntary obedience. This is impossible without tangible co-operative work requiring exact discipline and voluntary and whole-hearted obedience to rules and regulations.

Civil resistance is merely lawful and obligatory only in some cases, whereas constructive work is obligatory on all who belong to a non-violent organization. And civil resistance can be effective only when it is backed by constructive effort on a mass scale. Success of civil resistance can be measured by the success of constructive effort. Therefore, I hope that all Congress workers will, during the National Week from 6th to 13th April, devote their time to the constructive programme. Khadi and other village industries have always played a prominent part in the programme. For, all young and old, men and women can take part in it and the work can be measured in arithmetical terms. It is to be hoped that the response will be much greater than ever before.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942. File No. 3/42/41–Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 22-3-1941

528. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 21, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I missed yesterday. Your Hindi writing is perfect and composition very good. If you have as much practice there as possible, you will do well for Hindi. *Harijan* publication may be resumed on 29th.

Ramnarayan's letters I did not like. There is a desire to hide truth. I have written to him and asked him to send you my letter. I have not kept any copy.

[1] All-India Village Industries Association

About the Law Committee[1], I have already written to you. I am expecting a letter from Mridula.

Ba has gone to Delhi to have Sushila's treatment. Sushila wired that she would be able to give her better treatment in Delhi. Ba is very brave. She got ready in no time and she went without an escort.

I am glad you stick to the Indian style of living for the college. All unreasoning opposition will melt before your firmness.

I have got your textbook. I propose to read it. Send a copy to Sushila.

You will have seen my appeal[2] about Andrews Memorial.

I want you to collect as much as you can from all and sundry.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4001. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7310

529. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 21, 1941

CHI. RUKMINI,

Your letter of February 24, 1941, is before me. Only today I could get time to write a couple of lines. I hope you have regained plenty of strength. The marriage must have passed off without any hitch. Today Ba has gone all by herself [to Delhi] to be treated by Dr. Sushila. She has piles.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RUKMINI DEVI
C/o SHRI BENARSIDAS BAZAJ
THATHERI BAZAAR, BENARES CITY

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 10128. Courtesy: Benarsilal Bazaj

[1] Of Lahore who took up the role of the *amicus curiae* and decided to bring before the High Court for revision, the cases of satyagrahis in which, in their opinion, obvious injustice was done. In her letter dated April 19, 1941, to Dunichand, Amrit Kaur said: "There have been some complaints regarding revisions undertaken by the *amicus curiae* Bar Association Committee in Lahore. Gandhiji's opinion is that the idea of such a Committee in itself is all right. But it should be allowed to function on its own, without any interest, instigation or interference in its work on the part of the satyagrahis. You should issue strict injunctions to the latter in this regard."

[2] *Vide* pp. 379-80.

530. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 21, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It was not proper to burden Mahadevbhai. What is to be done now? I will see to that. To burden Kishorelalbhai for such matters should be considered a sin. I understand about Akbar. Let me see what can be done.

If I am told what Chimanlal said, I shall be able to say something.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4378

531. LETTER TO CHAMANLAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 22, 1941

DEAR CHAMANLAL,

In spite of my best effort, I have not been able to read your book. But a cursory glance shows that some of your statements are too startling to be true. If they are true, you have made no mean contribution to research work. If your thesis is accepted by Americans, there must be established a cultural bond between America and India.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Hindu America?*, facing p. xviii

532. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
[March 22, 1941][1]

CHI. AMRIT,

You will know this letter[2]. I forget all about it.

Herewith Kamala's[3] very interesting letter. Ten rupees are being sent to Chandel.

I understand what you say about the Law Committee[4]. Don't worry. You will go to Simla if you are at all pressed. Even a week there would do you good.

I have your wire.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4002. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7311

533. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
March 22, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

What you said yesterday was correct, and was timely. If you are still not satisfied, ask again and again. The matter is important. Therein lies the test of ahimsa. Both were attracted towards each other. If this is considered a defect and they are turned out, their lives can be embittered. If we tolerate them, their self-control can

[1] From the postmark

[2] The reference is to a Hindi letter dated March 20 from Raghuvansh Gaur at the back of which Gandhiji had written to Amrit Kaur. Raghuvansh Gaur had written: "The file of the U.P. Agriculture Department which I had given to Rajkumari has been sent back to me without any intimation. I request you to let me know what is being done about it. . . ." *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 383, and "Letter to Raghuvansh Gaur", p. 370.

[3] She had gone to Bombay for training in midwifery; *vide* also "Letter to Mary Barr", p. 410.

[4] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 389.

increase, and they can progress step by step. Their progress depends on us. This line of thought is in favour of their staying [in the Ashram], and this should be sufficient.

We should put up with the temper of others to the extent that we ourselves are not weighed down by it. A proof of this is that others are influenced by us. This is an outward proof. Inner proof is the testimony of the soul. If our fearlessness goes on increasing, it is ahimsa, otherwise it is cowardice.

It may be said that in Kocharab [Ashram][1] the whole work was in order. The other things were subject to it. In outward work there was there the same discipline that I had in South Africa. I used to engage the visitors in the Ashram work or they left soon after they came. My physique could bear the strain of laborious work, so I could take part in every activity; and it may be said that I was in constant touch with all. There was one big living room. So it was easy to come in touch with others. This is about the early stage. Whole work means to fill water early in the morning, to wash clothes, to cook food, to clean grains and vegetables, to serve food, to teach, and so on. These things being one after the other were not troublesome.

The rest of the questions were answered yesterday.

Your letter is enclosed. Ask, if anything still remains.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4379

534. LETTER TO SHRIRAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 22, 1941

BHAI LALA SHRIRAM,

I hope to have the utmost help from you for the Andrews Memorial.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 947

[1] Started by Gandhiji on May 25, 1915, it was housed in Jeevanlal Vrajrai Desai's bungalow in Ahmedabad, where it continued till Sabarmati Ashram was founded in 1917.

535. *MESSAGE TO M. R. JAYAKAR*[1]

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
[Before *March 23, 1941*][2]

Tell Mr. Jayakar that I should always be delighted to meet old friends. But while I may personally discuss every aspect with them, I could not, without consultation with the members of the Working Committee, give them any assurance, armed with which they might go to the Viceroy. For they would need the assurance on behalf of the Congress Working Committee and I have no authority to give it. There will be this obvious handicap, but otherwise I should be only too glad to meet them. They may come with great expectations and I may fail to satisfy them. Otherwise of course I could not have the slightest objection to meeting them.

From the original: C.W. 10387. Courtesy: National Library

536. *CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON*

WARDHAGANJ,
[On or before *March 23, 1941*][3]

AGATHA HARRISON
BRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE ROAD, LONDON

BOMBAY SUGGESTIONS[4] NOT LIKELY RECEIVE CONGRESS COUNTENANCE. AM REMAINING SILENT.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1519. Also C.W. 7862. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] & [2] The message is extracted from Mahadev Desai's letter dated March 23 to Tej Bahadur Sapru, which read: "I dare say Mr. Jayakar has acquainted you with our talks in Bombay. He had asked me to get in touch with Gandhiji and get his reaction. This was the message [from Gandhiji] that I gave Mr. Jayakar. . . . Now I have a letter from Mr. Jayakar asking me to convey this message also to you, so that you may do what may be needful. . . ."

[3] The cable is extracted from Mahadev Desai's letter (C.W. 7862) dated March 23 to G. D. Birla, in which it was quoted as Gandhiji's "reply" to the addressee who wanted to know "Bapu's reaction to the Bombay resolution". In the G.N. source, the postmark of the original cable bears the date "March 24".

[4] The reference is to the resolution passed by the Non-party Leaders' Conference held under the presidentship of Tej Bahadur Sapru in Bombay from March 13 to 16; *vide* Appendix XIII.

537. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 23, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your wire was prompt and useful. I know that you would remember the place where it[1] was put. Amtul Salaam had suggested, and so also Lilavati, that I should look into the box. I pooh-poohed the idea. But they were right.

I thought my letter[2] to Farooqui was just the thing. I have not answered all the impertinent questions. I am quite sure my answer cannot be exploited with any success.

I am glad you had a good report about your college.

Boiling here. You must take rest.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Sorry for New Delhi address.

Herewith letter from Pyarelal. I asked him to write to you.

From the original: C.W. 4003. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7312

538. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
March 23, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

You are needlessly worried. Married people can live in the Ashram, if they lead the life of a *brahmachari*. If Kanu and Abha marry, they will not marry to lead the life of *brahmacharya*. Is this not clear?[3]

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1457. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] The reference is to the ointment-box; *vide* letter to the addressee, p. 384.

[2] *Vide* p. 378.

[3] *Vide* also "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", pp. 357-8, and letter to the addressee, p. 286.

539. LETTER TO VITHALDAS V. JERAJANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 23, 1941

BHAI VITHALDAS,

I hope your exhibition, etc., will be completely successful. The success of our struggle depends on the spread and success of such constructive activities.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9799

540. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 23, 1941

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I gave my opinion[1] to Kishorelalbhai yesterday. I don't think there is any need to send for all family members. If the lady doctor also is of the same opinion, get the operation done at once. There is no danger at all in opening the abdomen. I think it absolutely necessary to find out about the tumour. Even if all of them come over, they will not be of much help. Why, then, incur expenses on travelling and so on? It is necessary to observe certain limits in every matter. Show this letter to everybody.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9747. Also C.W. 727. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

[1] Regarding Manubehn Mashruwala's illness; *vide* letter to the addressee, p. 384, and "Letter to Kantilal Gandhi", p. 399.

541. LETTER TO MAGANLAL AND MANJULA MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 23, 1941

CHI. MAGANLAL AND MANJULA,

The portion in pencil in the accompanying letter was returned because Urmi had written the wrong address. I did not like the pencil handwriting and so she re-wrote the portion in ink. Urmi is keeping fine and is becoming mature.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a.copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1614. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

542. LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI

March 23, 1941

CHI. PRABHUDAYAL,

Write to Shri Ramji Sharma that Mahadevbhai has already sent his opinion about *Sainik*. We are fighting on behalf of *Sainik* and do not want to publish it under any other name. The greatest need is for dharma and determination. Your article is worthless. It is grossly exaggerated. A considerable part of Shastriji's body is still very clear. There is not much of a stink. I do not spend hours on him. These days I don't even give him massage. I have already told you that your language is superficial because your thoughts are such. You do not honour truth as much as you should. If at all you wish to write something, first ascertain the the whole thing from Shastriji. There should not be a single sentence for which you have not made sure of the facts.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Returning the article and Ramji Sharma's letter.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11692

543. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 24, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your little note.

You never doubted the welcome you were to receive there. I did not. I hope Tofa[1] remembers us all. I know your love of flowers. But I cannot give you satisfaction here. The place is much too disorganized for sporting flower-beds.

Harijan will be out on 5th April unless some mishap prevents it.[2] Probably it will be Ahmedabad. Chandrashanker seems to have neglected his duty to an unforgivable extent.

I am hoping that he has not been wilfully dishonest. But neglect such as he seems to have shown produces almost the same result.

I am keeping well in spite of the heat.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Amtul Salaam is doing well. No asthma.

From the original: C.W. 4004. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7313

[1] Addressee's pet dog

[2] It could not, however, be resumed, and had to be again suspended; *vide* "Note on *Harijan*", On or before 28-3-1941, and "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 408; also letter to the addressee, p. 388.

544. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

March 24, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Is it not best that I send you Undhru back? He can be on guard between 12 and 4, and do all your work. The woman may be disposed of otherwise. Here is. . . [1]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6473. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9868

545. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

March 24, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your note. I did not even notice anything. It is enough that you are incapable of disrespect. If you take Undhru, all difficulty vanishes.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6474. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9869

546. LETTER TO RAGHUVANSH GAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
March 24, 1941

DEAR RAGHUVANSH,

Rajkumaribehn tried and failed. In the circumstances you should for the time being employ yourself in some paying work whereby your knowledge may not be lost, and cultivate non-violence.[2]

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 140

[1] One word is illegible in the source.

[2] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 370, and "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 391.

547. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 24, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

You are demanding too much. You write after a long time and then want an immediate reply. I will use the dhotis when I get them. Ba has gone to Delhi to take treatment from Sushila. There is nothing in particular. She is suffering from the same old complaint. But she wanted to be under Sushila's treatment. It was not possible for Sushila to come and stay here for a long time. I, therefore, sent Ba. Manubhai must have had some good experience. Does he take enough ghee? I hope Nanabhai is keeping well. Sharda is still here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7139. Also C.W. 4631. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

548. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 24, 1941

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. May Shanti[1] and you live long. May you bring credit to the family and society and be true servants.

Ba has gone to Delhi to have treatment from Sushila. She will stay there for a month or so. The piles had become painful. Manu has a tumour and she may have to be operated upon. Saraswati must be fine.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

From the photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7363. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] Addressee's son

549. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

March 24, 1941

BA,

Either write or dictate a letter to me. A letter from Kanti is enclosed. On one side he has written to you and on the other to me. I get regular news about Manu. It looks as if she will have to be operated upon. I have written and suggested[1] that another doctor should be consulted and, if he also is of the same opinion, she should be operated upon. There is no risk at all in the operation. Do not worry. Now that you are there, go through the full treatment and get well.

Here it is quite hot. Do not worry about me. Things are all right. Lilavati[2] looks after my food, etc.

Blessings to Lakshmi[3] and the children.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

A letter from Mani[4] is enclosed. Reply to her at length. Lakshmi or Sushila will write it for you.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./XXIV

550. LETTER TO ADVAITA KUMAR GOSWAMI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
March 24, 1941

BHAI ADVAITA KUMAR,

I am replying to your letter belatedly as I could get no time. What can I write about the condition there? I cannot write to Baba Raghavdas, Mohanlalji and others. So try to do your best.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 151

1 *Vide* "Letter to Kunvarji K. Parekh", p. 395.
2 Lilavati Asar
3 Lakshmi Devdas Gandhi
4 Manibehn Patel

551. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
March 24, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have read the set of rules and regulations prepared by Bhai Kundar[1]. It is good. If there is any need for making certain changes, please make them. Otherwise get copies made on the office cyclostyle. We can always make some changes later.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4380

552. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 24, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You have not understood at all. If personally I had some inkling of it, I would have told you. As I was in a hurry I did not write. The underlying problem is that man is not so simple. If anyone tells as soon as passion arises in him, then this Ashram would become heaven. Afterwards it may or may not result in marriage. . . .[2] was able to hide his passion. When I asked him he admitted it. If their behaviour was not disapproved by others, who knows how far the two would have gone. So the correct rule would be that as soon as passion arises, one should let it be known. But who will do this? So I stick to the old saying that as we are and as we shall be so would others be.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4381

[1] Kundar Divan, a khadi worker, brother of Manohar Divan
[2] The name is scored out in the source.

553. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 24, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Grinding, latrine-cleaning and so on were all there in Kocharab, and I used to do all these things.

You have asked a proper question. This was only an example. To expel . . .[1] would be equally unjust. For disobeying the rules everyone should be dismissed. To expel a person who sincerely admits his mental attitude would be intolerance. Out of intolerance springs hypocrisy. The problem is complicated. If you think coolly over the matter, you would be convinced. Behind your question there seems to be some other question. I am thinking about it, you may also think over it.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4382

554. LETTER TO SECRETARY, BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE, CALCUTTA

[Before *March 25, 1941*][2]

There is no absolute merit in jail-going. It is only a means. If you attain the end without it, we should welcome the opportunity.

Your difficulties I can well imagine, but the road to success is overlain with them. They need not baffle us. If our steps are firm and true, success is assured. I do not worry about their not arresting satyagrahis. You must turn this move of the Government to good account. Let the satyagrahis work in their districts and organize them, if they will not march towards Delhi.

In any event a vast majority will always be outside. If they are organized fully, none need court imprisonment.

The Maulana's arrest is of course unfortunate, but it had to come. Every one of the difficult tasks should put the workers on their mettle.

The Hindu, 27-3-1941

[1] The name is scored out in the source.

[2] The letter was reported under the date-line "Calcutta, March 25".

555. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHA,
March 25, 1941

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
JULLUNDUR CITY

ADDRESS ONLY WOMEN STUDENTS. VISIT GUJARAT UNNECESSARY.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4005. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7314

556. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 25, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter. I have sent you the wire you asked for. I do not want you to be involved in men's meetings, etc. You must not be made cheap. Students, yes, if they behave and really want you. Women always. You may not go to Gujarat.

The ointment was in its place. It is for Janakibehn.

I am keeping quite well. 142/90[1] in the afternoon.

About women I have given no final opinion. You are not in a hurry?

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Harijan on 5th April—Ahmedabad.[2]

From the original: C.W. 4006. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7315

[1] Blood-pressure

[2] *Harijan*, however, could not be resumed; *vide* p. 405.

557. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 26, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

You will care to read the enclosed. You may destroy it.

The weather is getting warmer though I remain unaffected by it.

Manu Trivedi's father[1] has come. He is one of the rare men I have met. He is a good man. He is suffering from blood-pressure and is under my treatment though living in Wardha.

Janakibehn is getting on. Madalasa is still causing worry. Amtul Salaam is keeping fairly well. All else is as when you were here. Do drop a postcard to Ba. She is to have an injection today. This is being written before 4 a.m.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4007. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7316

558. LETTER TO PATWARDHAN

March 26, 1941

BHAI PATWARDHAN,

How can I say whether going to the court is right or not? This much I can plainly say that you have a full right to go to the court and it may be a duty to do so. But I am in no position to decide whether it is or is not a duty. You yourself should think over this. I tried to bring everyone together, but failed. Still if all of you come over, I will certainly give some time to you. But I have no courage to send for all of them.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Jaishanker Trivedi

559. *TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR*

WARDHAGANJ,
March 27, 1941

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
JULLUNDUR CITY

ENOUGH IF YOU REACH DELHI FOURTEENTH MORNING.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4008. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7317

560. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
March 27, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I was pained to read about Jayaprakash. Let him have a cold water bath after the massage. The body should be massaged thoroughly. Uncooked tomatoes are all right. Remember you have to come here on your way back.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3557

561. *NOTE ON "HARIJAN"*[1]

[On or before *March 28, 1941*][2]

Under the circumstances we cannot restart. And even if we did so, I am sure we should come to grief in a month or so.

From a copy: C.W. 7863. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] & [2] The note is extracted from Mahadev Desai's letter dated March 28 to G. D. Birla, which read: "Man proposes, God disposes. I made the announcement yesterday that *Harijan* would be restarted on 5th April, but like a bolt from the blue came a letter from Tottenham today which decided Bapu against re-publication. . . . Perhaps *Harijan* cannot now be restarted until after the war or after a settlement, of which I see no hope whatsoever." For the letter addressed to Mahadev Desai from Sir Richard Tottenham, Additional Secretary, Home Department, *vide* Appendix XIV.

562. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 28, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I could not write yesterday. I have your letters. I sent you a wire[1] about not going to Delhi before 14th. I told A[mrita Lal Chatterjee] about Good Friday. He says he is himself a Christian and was even crucified because he was married on Good Friday.

You will find herewith my final opinion on the women's part in the Law Committee. Mridula has made ample reparation to Joshi.

Here is a letter from Zuberi. I think you have corresponded with him. Kripalani has said that the letter has been forwarded to you for disposal.

Your Hindi writing is daily improving.

Hope Shummy is better.

Ba had an injection, Bharatanand had the operation yesterday. Sailen is all right. Shastri's greed is on the increase, but he is well.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4009. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7318

563. LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI

March 28, 1941

CHI. PRABHUDAYAL,

I have your letter. Give up all needless talk and do only what Kakasaheb says. Consider it your dharma to do whatever work he gives and be fully engrossed in it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11693

[1] *Vide* p. 405.

564. *THE ONLY WAY TOWARDS WORLD PEACE*

Deep inside me I have an ever growing faith that in the midst of this universal destruction due to bloodshed, I am carrying on an absolutely innocuous struggle which, however, is pregnant with great potentialities.[1]

The movement, for the conduct of which I am reponsible, may prove a vain effort, if I represent no one but myself; and if I remain true to my faith, I may be satisfied, but so far as world peace is concerned, the effort will prove inadequate in terms of the present. For producing the desired result during the lifetime of the present generation, it will be necessary to give an unmistakable demonstration that a substantial part of the nation is behind the effort. Much more has to happen before such a demonstration becomes possible. The present movement is a humble attempt in that direction.

Man can only make an honest attempt. In a satyagraha movement, the saying that God is the giver of the result is literally true. Therefore, it is faith that sustains me and it is faith that must sustain the other satyagrahis. We have only begun the battle. The real test, the real suffering, has yet to come. Let me repeat for the thousandth time that, in this long and arduous struggle, quality alone will count, never quantity. In this there is no room for hatred, certainly not for camouflage.

Despite my being the originator of this struggle, I venture to say that only through it can we hope for permanent world peace. Peace can never come through war.

SEVAGRAM, March 29, 1941

[From Hindi]

Sarvodaya, May 1941

[1] The following two paragraphs are reproduced from *The Hindu*, 6-5-1941.

565. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 29, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Man proposes, God disposes. Yesterday the announcement went that *Harijan* will be resumed on 5th April. Now a letter[1] from the Government has been received which practically amounts to prohibition from my point of view! I have, therefore, now announced[2] that *Harijan* will not be resumed on 5th April.

There is no post from you today. Of course I do not expect you to write every day.

I am keeping fit. In a way the re-suspension removes a burden from my mind.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3672. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6481

566. LETTER TO CHANDRAGUPTA VARSHNEYA

SEVAGRAM,
March 29, 1941

BHAI CHANDRAGUPTA,

I got your postcard. Owing to your brother's death, I can understand your difficulty in returning to Sevagram. Ashadevi will feel your absence. She got much help from your work.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Gandhiji aur Rajasthan, p. 261

[1] *Vide* Appendix XIV.

[2] *Vide* p. 405.

567. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 30, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter today. Your suggestions are sound. I want to take no hasty step. I am not perturbed by the discoveries. But if what you have heard about Iftikhar[1] is true, it will be a grievous shock. I still feel that there is some serious misunderstanding. But you will make what quiet inquiry you can make and let me know.

Yes, Rs. 100 have been received from your college. I have sent a postcard. I have readdressed three or four letters including a *Patrika* to you.

You won't grieve over the suspension of *Harijan*. Good is bound to come out of this.

I am sorry about Shummy. I hope he will soon recover. I am A-1.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4010. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7319

568. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 30, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It is difficult to answer your question regarding the diary. Do as you think proper. Experience alone shows what is best. You had better write on a separate sheet anything which specially needs to be told to me. You should not have the burden of reading the diary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4383

[1] Mian Iftikhar-ud-din, President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee; *vide* also Vol. LXXIV, "Statement to the Press", 6-7-1941.

569. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 31, 1941

I have just read yours of 18th February. Heaven knows when this will reach you. I see you are having varied experiences. I hope you are keeping excellent health and so is Father.

Yes, you may write your book[1]. It will remove some cobwebs.

It is very hot here. But there is no sickness just now.

Things are difficult here. I had announced resumption of *Harijan* but a letter[2] from the Government compelled me to countermand the announcement.

Kamala has got a good training-ground in a big hospital in Bombay and thanks to Dr. Jivraj Mehta. She is perfectly happy. Chandel is carrying on in Khedi. Of course we all expect you to return some day.

The rest from Mahadev.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6081. Also C.W. 3411. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

570. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 31, 1941

DEAR IDIOT,

I have your two letters today. That accounts for the absence of yesterday's.

I have given you a definite opinion about women.

Shah has not come near me yet. Farooqui won't be able to exploit my letter[3] much or for any length of time. The position

[1] *Bapu–Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi,* International Book House Ltd., Bombay, 1949

[2] *Vide* Appendix XIV.

[3] *Vide* p. 378.

I have taken up is sound almost in all such cases. There need never be any fear of going to arbitration. The choice of a judge or judges is always under one's control. I agree with you that the Congress should not seek to organize students as a party. But who can prevent individual Congressmen? You must not take such things to heart. After one has done one's best, it is always wise to let events take their course.

About the Punjab Congress affairs, I am not so agitated as you are. In a big democratic organization, action cannot be taken all of a sudden. It must represent good men as well as bad men. If the sum total is bad, it will be utterly discredited. Therefore without in any way worrying yourself, you bring me all the facts you can and I will see what action is possible.

Not much money has come in, in reply to my appeal[1]. Malkani has gone to Ahmedabad and Delhi for the purpose. He will get some, I am sure. If nothing comes in, I shall have to go to some places myself. Let us see.

I am still fit. Amtul Salaam is decidedly better. So is Bhagawati. Janakibehn occupies Ba's seat and Madalasa yours. The former is taking normal food. The latter still requires care. There is no sickness worth the name.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3673. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6482

571. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM,
March 31, 1941

CHI. MAGAN,

If you think the accompanying letter[2] is worth replying to, send the reply to me. In any case please return the letter.

Since you both are so keen, I will send Urmi back. I do not

[1] For the Andrews Memorial Fund; *vide* pp. 379-80.

[2] Written by Prabhashankar H. Parekh, father-in-law of the addressee's elder brother, Ratilal, complaining that the addressee did not fulfil the moral obligations to his family.

feel like doing so as she is progressing satisfactorily. I will be on the lookout for someone to send her with.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1616. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

572. LETTER TO DINESH SINGH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 31, 1941

CHI. DINESH,

I was glad to have your letter. If possible, collect donations from students for the Deenabandhu Andrews Memorial [Fund] and send the amount.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8675

573. CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON

WARDHAGANJ,
April 1, 1941

AGATHA HARRISON
CRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE
LONDON

ALWAYS READY CONSULTATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1520

574. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 1, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

You must not upset your system. The contract is not to eat rather than eat hastily. You know, too, that you can live on fruit juices. Take a little longer rather than endanger your health.

No sign of Shah.

Don't worry if you can't collect for Andrews Memorial.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4011. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7320

575. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

April 1, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

You have to evolve order out of disorder. The list seems all right. It is always subject to change.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1458. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

576. LETTER TO MAGANLAL AND MANJULA MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 1, 1941

CHI. MAGAN AND MANJULA,

I talked to Urmi today. She would do whatever I ask her. She does not like giving up the programme here nor does she wish to disregard the wishes of you both. I suggest that you should come over here in May and let Urmi stay on. But if that is too much for you, send me a wire. I will do as you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1617. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

577. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
April 1, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have your letter. I have no objection if Bablo[1] and you go. I have my doubts, though, whether you will be able to preserve your health there. I am not prepared to send anyone else, for my idea is that the people here should prepare themselves [for the struggle] here. If that takes a little more time, it doesn't matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8521. Also C.W. 7123. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

578. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

April 1, 1941

BA,

I got your letter. It seems you will take some time to get well. Never mind the delay if in the end you are fully restored. I do not worry since you are under good care. Here everything is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./XXIV

[1] Narayan Desai, son of Mahadev Desai

579. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 1, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

There are faults in your letter. It is good that you discovered some of them. As long as the devil possessed your mind, it was good that you wrote to me. That this happened was itself a fault. Someone has to be a manager, and he is entitled to decide things. The powers belong to the office and not to the man holding it. So nobody need worry what sort of a man the manager is. This means "No blame attaches to the strong, my Lord," says Tulsidas. In English it is: "The King can do no wrong." Among us Indians this fault-finding is almost universal. From where can we find a perfect manager? It is needless to ask how Chimanlal is. His analysis of merits and defects was correct. If I can find time to go to that kitchen, I will certainly do so, and carry my milk with me, because I do not consider it second rate. That one is inexpensive and this one is costly. Perhaps there condiments are allowed and here they are not. In case no inconvenience is felt there, it would no doubt be good if anyone of us some time go there.

In view of his temperament what Chimanlal said to Sushila was proper. Now it is time to stop.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4384

580. REMARKS IN AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE'S DIARY[1]

SEVAGRAM,
[April 1, 1941][2]

Yes, it will be better if both Abha and Vina could be sent somewhere—perhaps both to Bari[3]. Suspicion is inevitable. To be exposed to the public gaze is part of the open life we live here.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10347. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

581. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

April 2, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You have not understood my letter. There should be a manager. Whoever he may be, respect is due to the post. Victoria became queen at the age of seventeen. Old Palmerston[4] knelt before her. This is British etiquette. Victoria was immature. Still Palmerston did not hesitate. What have you to do with Chimanlal? I am in a delicate position. If in my presence only the will of the manager prevails, the order is maintained; if it does not prevail then there

[1] According to Amrita Lal Chatterjee, who was an inmate of Sevagram Ashram, in a letter dated January 8, 1941, he had "suggested to Gandhiji that the Ashramites should keep a personal diary of their work, thoughts and ideas that come in their way, and place them before Gandhiji for his perusal so that he could know the mind and work of each and every Ashramite, and make necessary suggestions. Gandhiji accepted the idea, and the system of keeping a personal diary was introduced from April 1." In his diary dated April 1, Amrita Lal Chatterjee had recorded a talk between him and Kanu Gandhi, Gandhiji's personal attendant, regarding "a subdued suspicion and whisperings of two particular sisters in the Ashram about the friendly relation that was developing between Kanu Gandhi and Abha (now Abha Gandhi), daughter of Amrita Lal Chatterjee", and had sought Gandhiji's advice.

[2] Supplied by Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[3] Baricutt Ashram in Orissa

[4] Henry John Temple Palmerston, third Viscount (1784-1865); Prime Minister during Victoria's reign in the year 1855, and from 1859 until his death

could be no order. If there were no order here then it would be nowhere, and then satyagraha would disappear.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4385

582. REMARKS IN AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE'S DIARY[2]

April 2, 1941

This is not right; contemplate:

जड़ चेतन गुण दोष मय विश्व कीन्ह करतार ।
संत हंस गुण गहहिपय परिहरि वारि विकार ॥[3]

If you do not know the meaning, ask Ramdasji[4].

BAPU[5]

From a photostat: C.W. 10347. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

583. REMARKS IN SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE'S DIARY

SEVAGRAM,
April 2, 1941

I can send you to Calcutta[6] if you give up the idea of examination. You will get a fair post and rise according to your merit.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10295. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 415.

[2] According to Amrita Lal Chatterjee, the remarks were made with reference to his diary, dated April 2, in which he had "candidly criticized the then prevailing system of management of the Ashram by a chosen Manager instead of a Committee of Ashramites, and also the then Manager with particular reference to a certain incident in which the said Manager gave quite a wrong decision against a fellow-Ashramite and induced another to support it."

[3] Balkand *Ramacharitmanasa:* Everything in the world, animate and inanimate, has virtues and defects; the saints who are like the swan, accept the good that is milk and ignore the evil that is water.

[4] Ramdas Gulati, a retired Engineer, an old inmate of Sevagram Ashram

[5] The subscription in this and the following item is in Devanagari.

[6] To work with Satis Chandra Das Gupta, *vide* "Note to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", p. 423.

584. REMARKS IN SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE'S DIARY

SEVAGRAM,
April 2, 1941

Not bad. You can give the same information in two pages. Try and you will succeed. Do you run to your work? If you do, it is a good habit. I wonder if in your present state of health you can take exercise unless it is quite gentle.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10296. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

585. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 3, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your two letters came in today. How is this? This is the third time it has so happened.

I could not write yesterday.

Your letter to Zuberi is all right and so are your suggestions and replies to Lala Dunichand. Let us see what happens.

If Mridula has her limitations, she has very great qualities. Her gate-keeper in her Ashram[1] was murdered. She has taken no fright. She is handling the situation in a cool and brave manner. You have to nurse such girls. She is a rare woman.

Mahadev has written to you fully about *Harijan*.

I hope Shummy is better, if not fully restored.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4012. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7321

[1] Vikasgriha; *vide* also "Letter to Mridula Sarabhai", pp. 376-7.

586. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 3, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Your writing to me was all right. Time will solve many of the problems. It is for you to find out a way of living that will satisfy you, for who else can understand what will satisfy you? There is always scope for independent work. And as for being released from me, that will be possible only when you ask for it. The game, therefore, is entirely in your hands. If you still feel troubled, what is to be done? But God is always there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8508. Also C.W. 7128. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

587. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 3, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I heard about the meeting held in Sevagram. My criticism is well-founded. We cannot ignore anything.

Yes, if you find any suitable village, you may stay there. But just now you should fulfil at least one resolution. You will then have taken one step. Your latest resolution was good. Take all the khadi examinations.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8510. Also C.W. 7124. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

588. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 4, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter.

I have not intentionally avoided answer to any of your questions. If I have, you will repeat the question or questions. The fact is I never have your letters before me at the time of replying. I have to rely upon memory.

I was afraid the letter was overweight. You have done well in telling me of the neglect.

Yes, the library has undergone the necessary change. I think you will like it. It has now become a proper room, the coolest in the Ashram. Madalasa rests there.

Mira can't bear the heat. She is off to Nasik[1] today. Sending you a copy of Pyarelal's pamphlet[2].

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4013. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7322

589. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
April 4, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Better is death in the discharge of one's duty; another's duty is frought with danger.[3]

You must, therefore, concentrate at present on your examinations. They will prove to be *kamadhenu*[4] for you. There are bound to be some defects in the examinations. Even to have these reformed, you have to appear for them. I see much good in your doing so.

[1] On her way to Chorwad; *vide* also "Letter to Mirabehn", p. 425.

[2] *Status of Indian Princes*

[3] *Bhagavad Gita*, III. 35

[4] A mythical cow that was supposed to give whatever was asked of her

That village may be regarded as reformed, where everybody wears khadi, which produces all the khadi it needs, in which every inhabitant spends some of his time in one or more processes relating to cotton, which uses only oil produced in indigenous oil-presses, which consumes only jaggery manufactured in the village itself or in its neighbourhood and only hand-milled flour and hand-pounded rice; the village, in other words, where the largest possible number of village industries are flourishing, in which nobody is illiterate, where the roads are clean, there is a fixed place for evacuation, the wells are clean, there is harmony among the different communities, and untouchability is completely absent, in which everybody gets cow's milk, ghee, etc., in moderate quantities, in which nobody is without work, and which is free from quarrels and thefts, and in which the people abide by the *sevak*'s advice in all matters. This is possible in the existing conditions. I cannot of course say about the time required.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8507. Also C.W. 7130. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

590. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
April 4, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I do not want to send for you specially nor have I anything important to tell you. But my condition is like that of a father who wants his daughter, without any reason, to be near him. But your first duty is to serve Jayaprakash. If, therefore, you cannot come over here, I will not mind. Keep on writing to me. Ba has gone to Delhi for treatment. She has piles. It will be some time before she returns.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3558

591. DRAFT CABLE TO LADY HARTOG[1]

[Before *April 5, 1941*][2]

NO END DEADLOCK POSSIBLE WITHOUT BRITAIN FREEING INDIA FROM YOKE. THERE IS UNDILUTED AUTOCRACY REIGNING HERE. OUR STATE CANNOT BE WORSE IN FUTURE HOWEVER BLACK. WE SEE NO WAY OUT EXCEPT THROUGH COMPLETE TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE. EARLY JOINT EFFORT FRUITFUL THROUGH THIS METHOD.

Home, Political, File No. 3/33/40-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

592. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 5, 1941

DEAR IDIOT,

Mahadev in Bombay, Mira in Nasik and Anand Hingorani in front of me pulling the punka. He will be here a few days. It is now 10.35 a.m.

Here are three letters. Haskell's I have read carefully. It is a good letter and requires a reasoned reply. Discuss the letter or the argument with Datta or any other learned Christian and send your answer. Even if you do not feel like sending it without discussing it with me, do have the discussion. See if you find a supporter for our position.

I hope you got Pyarelal's pamphlet.

The weather has become less unbearable. The nights are cool.

Love.

BAPU

[1] & [2] This was drafted by Gandhiji for Rameshwari Nehru; *vide* postscript, p. 423. According to an unofficial note dated May 3, 1941, by the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, "it appears that the cable was . . . abbreviated by the sender before transmission." It read: "Thanks message. Conference discussing next month will communicate result. Personally feel end deadlock impossible without Britain freeing India. (Undiluted autocracy reigns here.) Joint effort possible only through complete non-violent methods."

[PS.]

Your letter. We shall discuss what should be done about the Punjab when you return. Did not Mahadev tell you that I had sent to Rameshwari my draft reply[1] to Lady Hartog's wire? You must have seen it. Your draft too is good but mine is probably better.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4014. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7323

593. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
April 5, 1941

1. Democracy based on non-violence cannot come out of your suggestion. It is too mechanical.

2. Your suggestion about my taking a personal interest in everyone and everything is sound but since the Ashram exists for the development of national satyagraha, I have to fit in everything with the main idea. Remember that after all it is God who is guiding this as everything else.

3. I forgot to say that Mahila Ashram does not open before July, therefore, the girls cannot be sent there till then. What is wanted is their immediate withdrawal from the Ashram for their own good.

4. I have already told[2] Sailen, I would send him to Satis Babu if he throws in his lot with him.

5. All things considered, I think that for your own growth and that of the family it is worth considering whether you should not return to Bengal and reconstruct your life there. It is your natural place. With your temperament suffering jars in the Ashram at every step, my proposal is worth considering. Of course, in Bengal, too, I shall always be interested in your welfare. My sole concern is your all-round good.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1459. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] *Vide* p. 417.

594. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 5, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

What you say is correct. By all means go to Mool[1]. There is only one condition: if you get ill, you must return immediately. Do not be eager to call Kanchan there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8505. Also C.W. 7132. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

595. MESSAGE TO BASIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE[2]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 6, 1941

I hope that the Conference will realize that success of the effort is dependent more upon self-help than upon Government, which must necessarily be cautious even when it is well-disposed. Our experiment to be thorough has to be at least somewhere made without alloy and without outside interference.

M. K. GANDHI

Two Years of Work

[1] A town in Chanda District

[2] This was sent for the Second Basic Education Conference held in Jamia Nagar, Delhi.

596. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 6, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

We are all fasting today[1]. Continuous spinning is going on. Hot wind is blowing.

All the news you give makes sad reading. But your account of the poor women is cheering.

Here is a letter from Cochin. I keep the original and send you a copy.

You asked me about extending the verandah and making another on the other side. It shall be done after your return.

I have let Mira take one of your Gujarati grammars. She will be careful about its use.

No more today!

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4015. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7324

597. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
April 6, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I was afraid you will suffer in the train. Yes, you can go to Chorwad.[2] Harakhchandbhai's[3] letter has been received. He is quite glad, you could go. I am not wiring because it is Sunday and a wire would reach you no earlier than this.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABAI
C/O SHETH JIVANLAL MOTICHAND, NASIK

From the original: C.W. 6475. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9870

[1] For the National Week; *vide* "Appeal to Congress Workers", pp. 387-8.

[2] Mirabehn explains: "Owing to the extreme heat in the hut on the hill, Bapu was sending me to Chorwad by the seaside in Junagadh State. I had halted at Nasik on the way." *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 420.

[3] Harakhchand Motichand Shah of Chorwad

598. *NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 6, 1941

Non-violent conduct requires toleration of and even generosity towards the opponent whether he is father or any other. Contrary conduct is a species of violence.

Most of our difficulties arise from our ignorance. Unregulated sentiment is waste like unharnessed steam.

BAPU

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani. Also G.N. 472

599. *REMARKS IN SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE'S DIARY*[1]

SEVAGRAM,
April 6, 1941

I have never undertaken to read diaries word for word. I gave most attention to yours. To be read, you must be brief. You are prolix. You have written almost an essay. I have read all the marked parts. I can give no guarantee as to the pay. You will get what you are worth. Anything more will be charity. Today you are a burden and you will be still greater when you are studying. But if you begin to earn, you reduce the burden and will presently save. This means hard and honest labour. I hope you will do this.

You are not attending to your diet. You must control it or let Dr. Das control it. I am quite sure, I was right in stopping massage. You are becoming too soft.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10297. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] According to Amrita Lal Chatterjee, Sailendra Nath Chatterjee had noted in his diary, dated April 6, "that he was sorry that Gandhiji did not read his diary fully . . . that he was prepared to give up further studies and join service, if his father and Gandhiji desired so, and if it offered a decent pay and future prospects. Sailendra Nath had also mentioned about the trouble he had, because of his taking rather too much food after a long fast."

600. MESSAGE TO MYSORE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS MEETING[1]

[Before *April 7, 1941*][2]

I am firmly of the opinion that, if the constructive programme is assiduously and successfully worked out to its end, the helpless will find themselves possessing power they never had before, and that is the truest foundation for the swaraj of millions based on non-violence.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-4-1941

601. ASHRAM NOTE

April 7, 1941

In the *sutra-yajna*[3] care should be taken to note the following:

1. Weight of the slivers of each of the spinners;
2. amount of yarn produced thereby;
3. amount of refuse; waste yarn to be collected; it has its own use;
4. count of the yarn produced, its tensile-strength and evenness;
5. every *gundi*[4] should be accompanied by the spinner's name.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 383

[1] & [2] The message was for its fourth session, held on April 7.

[3] The reference is to the non-stop spinning performed in connection with the National Week observed from the 6th to the 13th April.

[4] Hank

602. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 7, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. I shall keep the recipe for *missi* chapati. There is not much in it. Ba often makes it. And it will be often made if I would allow it. Gram flour makes it too nutritious for all but the heavy-work labourers. The proportion of *bhaji* is not enough. Our bread is far superior and any day lighter.

I am glad you have been able to finish your Jullundur work.

Ba might have to give a month to Delhi. Sushila expects to cure her completely. She may drop in for two days.

I do not think I ever met Sardar Sunder Singh. I am, therefore, not writing.

I hope you are taking care of yourself according to our new discovery.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4016. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7325

603. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
April 7, 1941

1. I have said my say. You will grow only if you find that the plus side is greater than the minus side. It is strange but true that a person is affected by a thing as he imagines it to be not as it really is. Thus the two Sikh brothers who lived here told me that the shortcomings they saw they were prepared for, but the new and good things they saw in the Ashram filled them with admiration. The Bengali detenu who was here (I forget his name) saw nothing or little that was good. The truth no one knows, not even I the author. God only knows what this place is.

2. Of course Vina and Abha can stay here, if they know the art of living in the midst of suspicion.

3. Sailen is a tough problem. I fear he will be a burden to himself and to you and society.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1460. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

604. REMARKS IN SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE'S DIARY[1]

SEVAGRAM,
April 7, 1941

This is good.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10298. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

605. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 7, 1941

BHAI VALLABHRAM,

It is good that you went there.[2] You will gain good experience. After the tour is over, if necessary, we will think again about your problem. Jivanlalbhai has not yet asked me anything.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2916. Courtesy: Vallabhram Vaidya

[1] According to Amrita Lal Chatterjee, Sailendra Nath had noted in his diary, dated April 7, "that in obedience to the advice of Gandhiji he was prepared to leave his studies and join any service on whatever pay it might offer provided it promised future prospects, so that Gandhiji could be relieved of the burden and responsibility of helping Sailen's mother and younger brothers and sisters." *Vide* also the preceding item, and "Remarks in Sailendra Nath Chatterjee's Diary", p. 426.

[2] The Himalayas; *vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 386.

606. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 7, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. You are worrying needlessly. In fact, you are a fortunate woman. You are doing as much as you can. It is in God's hand to grant success. What is the harm if you get fewer opportunities of staying with me? It is but natural that you wish to come over. But are all our wishes always fulfilled? Your place is with Jayaprakash or wherever your duty calls you.

Therefore stop worrying and be engrossed in your duty. Ba is still in Delhi. It will take time for her wound to heal. There is no cause at all for worry. She is quite happy in Delhi.

Rajkumari is arriving on the 16th. Sushila is coming over here for a few days.

It is of course very hot.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3564

607. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
April 8, 1941

I have seen what purports to be a report[1] by some 'special correspondent' of an interview by Shri Mukundlal Sircar and Shri R. S. Ruikar with me. I have no hesitation in saying that it is a mischievous distortion of a friendly conversation.

I rarely give interviews. When I do, I insist on seeing the draft before publication. So far as I know, there was no one in my cottage who could send any reports. I should hope that none of the two friends has become a 'special correspondent'.

I repeat my request that Editors will confer a favour on me if, before publishing interviews with me, they will make sure that I

[1] *Vide* Appendix XV.

have authorized them. I would not mind any amount of misrepresentation, if it did not injure a public cause.

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-4-1941

608. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 8, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here are two letters. Dharam Yash Dev's is a strange letter. You will write to him plainly and strongly. He has been condemned by his own action.

Your Lahore programme is strenuous. I shall heave a sigh of relief when you are back in your corner. How nice not to have a room but a corner or even a part of a wall. Nevertheless when the hot wind blows as it is, while I am writing this, I feel tempted to say, pass a month or so at Simla. But I know you won't be happy anywhere else.

Ba is not likely to come back for a month though she is decidedly better. Sushila may come during Easter. Kanchan is back from Delhi.

Love

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4017. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7326

609. LETTER TO JAGANNATH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 8, 1941

MY DEAR JAGANNATH,

You have told me a sorry tale. Why don't you see the Editor? I cannot issue any statement. Of course, if *Harijan* was published, I could deal with all such things.

Yes, Mahadev told me everything. When Rajkumari returns, I shall see what can be done.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10349. Courtesy: Jagannath

610. REMARKS IN AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE'S DIARY[1]

April 8, 1941

1. I shall do what I can for Sailen.
2. The remedy is shut your eyes like the wise monkey towards the faults of others. They cannot hurt you. Why don't you try to write in Hindi and be brief?

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10348. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

611. LETTER TO PRITHVI SHIGH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 8, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I am happy that you write to me regularly. You are working so hard that I am sure your efforts will bear fruit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5646. Also C.W. 2957. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

[1] According to Amrita Lal Chatterjee, in his diary, dated April 8, he "expressed his concern for his son, Sailendra Nath, who was then living in the Ashram with him, and also mentioned his own difficulty in living in the prevailing atmosphere of the Ashram, which was not congenial and helpful to social, moral and spiritual growth of a person."

612. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 8, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Kanchan arrived this morning. She is quite happy. There is no cause at all for worry.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MUNNALAL SHAH
KHADI KARYALAYA
MOOL P.O.
CHANDA DISTRICT

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8501. Also C.W. 7133. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

613. LETTER TO DR. RAGHUVIR SINGH AGRAWAL

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
April 8, 1941

BHAI AGRAWAL,

Valjibhai[1] is an impecunious social worker. For years he has been working with me. How can his son be charged Rs. 3 daily? Can you give the assurance that his eyes will be all right? Perhaps you do not know Valjibhai. The boy's name is Mahendra. He keeps on asking me whether or no to go.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

DR. AGRAWAL
15 DARYA GANJ
DELHI

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 9665 a. Courtesy: Dr. M. S. Agrawal

[1] Valji G. Desai

614. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 9, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your regular letter has come.

Here are three letters. Two I have read.

Ba is not likely to come for a month, nor is Sushila coming. She is wanted by Ba.

Mahadev will come probably on 11th.

Bhagawati has gone to Raipur for a change.

Shastriji is eating more and more daily and is yet improving.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4018. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7327

615. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 10, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Mahadev has come. He had an arduous programme.

How I have anticipated you! I suddenly remembered that you had written to me about the porch. The idea is sound. But the addition will be made after your return. In my case the workmen are few and the work much. Therefore nothing can be rushed. Nor is there any hurry. I am simply delighted with the change I have made in the library. It has proved a positive blessing to Madalasa. She rests there from 10 to 2.30 p.m. Amtul Salaam also often rests there and has her hip-baths. The door too opens.

Mira has gone to Chorwad, a seaside place in Kathiawar.

What an escape you had! But life is made of a series of escapes, living as we are in the midst of death.

Do avoid overwork.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4019. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7328

616. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
April 10, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your postcard. Here we are boiling but I hope you have an ideal weather in Chorwad and that everything else is well. Mahadev has returned.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
SHRI HARAKHCHAND MOTICHANDNI VADI
CHORWAD, *via* JUNAGADH, KATHIAWAR

From the original: C.W. 6476. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9871

617. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

April 10, 1941

I heard from Mahadev that you were quite seriously ill. Now take complete rest. I had warned you. One should never work beyond one's strength. But that is a thing of the past. If you take care of the present, everything will be all right. Mahadev says that your party has broken up and you are depressed about that, but that is unnecessary. You have done your best; why need you worry then? Many other factors and circumstances contribute to the outcome, and surely you cannot be the master of all of them? What you have done is enough. If you get well completely, you will again be able to influence the Corporation irrespective of whether you have a party behind you.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, pp. 180-1

618. LETTER TO MAURICE FRYDMAN

[After *April 10, 1941*][1]

DEAR MAURICE,

I have your letter. I never thought of your fast. I was under the impression that you were fed here. I hope you were none the worse for it. I was painfully conscious that I could not give you any satisfaction for your theory. The worst of it is that those who seek support for their theories cannot be easily satisfied, if at all, except when you agree with them. This is no drawback. It often means strength. Where would all the discoverers and inventors have been, if they had given in at the first sign of opposition. Therefore you need not be disappointed if you have a living faith in your theory.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

619. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR[2]

[After *April 10, 1941*][3]

CHI. KAKA,

Follow Koyaji's[4] advice in regard to diet. Otherwise you will not be fair to him. If you get a secretary, you may go out slowly. It is good that Raihana is there now.

I understand about *Sarvodaya*.

Get well soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10948

[1] The letter was in reply to the one dated April 10 from the addressee.
[2] & [3] The letter is written on the one dated April 10 from the addressee.
[4] Dr. Koyaji, a physician of Bombay

620. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 11, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Madalasa has torn a[1] bit from this. She holds her impromptu poem on seeing my trinity.[2] Here is the bit too.

Three letters accompany this. It is better to let you have such correspondence than to keep it awaiting you.

There is one defect in the otherwise beautiful blue paper. In this darkened room, it is difficult to read the writing. You will check this yourself.

I do hope you will not allow yourself to be overworked.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4021. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7330

621. LETTER TO R. K. NANDKAOLYAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 11, 1941

DEAR NANDKAOLYAR[3],

Please convey to Shri R. Viswanatha Mudaliar and Shri Pachi Ammal my condolence on the death of the late Shri Ramalinga Mudaliar.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 1298, 1940-41. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] First Gandhiji had written 'the', and then as an alternative, 'a'.
[2] The reference seems to be to the statuettes of three monkeys.
[3] R. K. L. Nandkaolyar, Inspector, A.I.C.C. Office

622. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHA,
April 12, 1941

RAJKUMARI
50 EMPRESS ROAD
LAHORE

OMIT DELHI. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4020. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7329

623. TELEGRAM TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE[1]

WARDHA,
April 12, 1941

GURUDEV
SANTINIKETAN

FOUR SCORE NOT ENOUGH. MAY YOU FINISH FIVE. LOVE.[2]

GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10299. Courtesy: Visvabharati

624. LETTER TO DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, WARDHA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 12, 1941

DUPUTY COMMISSIONER
WARDHA

DEAR SIR,

Shri Ramakrishna Bajaj, ex-student, son of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, will offer civil disobedience on Tuesday, 15th instant,

[1] For his eightieth birthday which was on April 14

[2] According to *The Hindu*, 15-4-1941, the addressee, in his reply, said: "Thanks for your message. But, if four score is impertinence, five score will be intolerable."

at 8 a.m. from Gandhi Chowk, Wardha, by reciting the usual anti-war slogans.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 347. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

625. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 12, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your unfailing post. After all said and done, nothing like white or cream coloured paper.[1]

I am glad you are meeting the people you ought to have. (I went so far and felt so sleepy that I dropped the pen and slept.)

I have your wire. Of course you will drop Delhi.[2] I trust you have informed Aryanayakam of your inability. Two additional days will give you more scope for work there.

Durga[3] is a little better. Mahadev has gone to Bombay. He returns on Monday or Tuesday. You come back on Wednesday. This, therefore, is my last letter to you.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3674. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6483

626. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
April 12, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I have your postcard. I am glad you like the place. I am sure you will have the solitude you desire, Harakhchandbhai

[1] *Vide* also p. 437.
[2] *Vide* also p. 438.
[3] Mahadev Desai's wife

is a pearl. His left hand knoweth not what his right gives. Give him my love.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6477. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9872

627. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEVAGRAM,
April 12, 1941

CHI. PREMA,

I had your letter written from Saswad. Yesterday I got the one written from jail. I was delighted to read the account of conditions there. I am sure that, if all the women live in harmony and do constructive work with faith, they will bring swaraj nearer.

On the 6th everybody here, excepting the children and the sick, fasted for twenty-four hours. Today also we intend to do the same. Non-stop working of some charkhas, one carding-bow and several *taklis* is in progress. Babla and Kanu had a big hand in arranging this. All are working with zeal.

And now for your questions:

1. All that I can say about fasting is that it is part of my life. A fast may come any time. At the moment, however, I am not thinking of any. But my strength comes from the possibility of my undertaking one and from my faith in the method. In the last resort a satyagrahi vindicates his honour by laying down his life, as one who believes in violence does by killing. What a big difference! Let nobody, therefore, look upon the possibility of a fast by me as the sword of Damocles. If the fast does come, welcome it and pray that God may grant me the strength to go through it.

2. *Harijan* was stopped because of an unexpected letter[1] from Delhi. I could see from it that they were not well-disposed towards the paper, and I do not want it to be made an issue in this struggle.

3. The current political developments have had no effect on me, for I have realized that nothing is possible just now. That is why I have said that this is going to be a long struggle. On the whole our good lies in that.

[1] *Vide* Appendix XIV.

Mahadev has again gone today to Bombay for a day. He has gone leaving Durga ill here. Both are courageous. They have willingly sacrificed themselves.

My blessings to all the women.

Ba is still in Delhi. She is improving, but will take time to get well completely.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10418. Also C.W. 6857. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

628. LETTER TO LAKSHMISWAR SINHA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 13, 1941

DEAR LAKSHMISWAR,

I have read your letter very carefully.[1] It is difficult to give you an independent organization. You should be able to work in the existing organization and hope to carry your point with your colleagues. I would like you also to tell me what your requirements are.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SHRI LAKSHMISWAR SINHA
13 LANSDOWNE TERRACE
KALIGHAT P.O.
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: C.W. 1474. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

[1] The addressee had given his own plan for implementing the scheme of basic education.

629. *LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
April 13, 1941

CHI. HEMPRABHA,

I got your letter. Somehow obtain the certificate. Jajuji is not here. I will ask him when he comes.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI HEMPRABHADEVI
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR, *via* CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2736

630. *STATEMENT FOR RAMAKRISHNA BAJAJ*[1]

[On or before *April 14, 1941*][2]

SIR,

Mine is a case somewhat out of the ordinary. I am an ex-student. It is necessary to mention this fact in these days of anarchy that prevails in the student-world. Though I am under eighteen, I have known enough of the student-world and the world outside to realize the necessity of discipline in everything. In the step I have taken I have, therefore, obtained the blessings of my parents and other elders. Under my parents I have had practical training in non-violence in every detail of life. I have just finished my matriculation examination. I began school work rather late in life. My parents had stopped our regular school work during the non-co-operation days of 1920 when I was not even born. My parents have brought us all up in a free atmosphere. And so when I was minded to go to school and go

[1] & [2] In the source, D. B. Kalelkar explains that this was drafted by Gandhiji for being read out by Ramakrishna Bajaj in the court. Gandhiji had explained the statement to Ramakrishna Bajaj at Sevagram on April 14, a day before he offered civil disobedience; *vide* "Letter to Deputy Commissioner, Wardha", pp. 438-9.

through the ordinary training, I was permitted to do so. When, however, the present struggle was started, my mind began to waver and I felt that the practical experience I should gain in the pursuit of freedom would be of far greater value than the ordinary schooling which every schoolboy knows is conceived not so much in the interest of the masses as that of the rulers. If in spite of that knowledge we go through that course, it is because it is the only one that has been in vogue for so many years and which serves the purpose of providing a status in life. Such is the fate to which we have been reduced through foreign domination. I have been attracted to the present struggle more for its moral worth than the political. I know that if India can present a completed example of non-violence, India will have made a unique contribution to human progress. It is a vision that holds my youthful mind and I would count no suffering too great to achieve an end so noble and glorious.

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 347-8

631. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 14, 1941

MY DEAR PRAFULLA,

I duly received your letter of 28th March last. I am somewhat late answering.

Yes, uneven and weak yarn is, like a counterfeit coin, useless. I have received some very fine specimens from the jails.

My health is quite good and so is Kumarappa's. Yes, I saw Maulana Saheb in Naini Jail. He was quite well, and so was Vijaylakshmi who has now been discharged. Sardar is keeping well and spinning during all his spare hours.

Kumarappa too is in good order and condition. He will leave today for Coonoor for a change. Rajen Babu is keeping well. He should be here in four or five days.

My regards to all there.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3781

632. *ASHRAM NOTE*

April 15, 1941

Neither boys nor elders should indulge in idle jokes either between themselves or with girls. While discussing work there is a place for innocent pleasantries. That is an art. But unless there is adequate reason for talking, observing silence is best.

This is the root of purity in speech.

There is much filth and refuse lying around the Ashram. Someone from amongst us should assume responsibility for keeping the surroundings clean....[1] It need hardly be emphasized that cleanliness is an essential part of non-violence.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 383

633. *LETTER TO PREMNATH BAJAJ*

April 15, 1941

DEAR PREMNATH,

Your complaint is just. I have not replied because I could not apply my mind to the question and so I shirked a reply as I must do even now. I would not like to let my perfunctory note to go forth as my opinion. I fear you should do without it.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Omission as in the source

[2] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 234.

634. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

[April 15, 1941][1]

Perfectly desirable except what was kept for me. The mangoes were specially sent for as medicine for both Chimanlal and Munnalal. I come in by the side door. If I refuse, there will be terrible argument. The children here get much more than elsewhere. But you are right. Mango is a cursed fruit. It attracts attention as no other fruit does. We must get used to not treating it with so much affection. But they will all get some as we have three boxes.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1461. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

635. LETTER TO RAGHUVANSH GAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
April 15, 1941

CHI. RAGHUVANSH,

I got your letter. I have no doubt your writing to the magistrate was a mistake. Surely it is not a case for fasting. How can we force any college? Make use of the knowledge that you have acquired and earn your livelihood. If you will give up your insistence, I would be pleased. Rajkumaribehn has taken great pains for you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAGHUVANSH GAUR
C/O KHAIR ASHRAM
ALIGARH

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 141

[1] Supplied by the addressee

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

A STRANGE PLAN[1]

As expected, the Congress Working Committee agreed at its meeting in Bombay to hand over the direction of Congress policy to Mr. Gandhi. The three cardinal points emerging from the Working Committee's resolution are that the Congress has no desire to embarrass the British Government in the conduct of the war, that there is to be no mass civil disobedience, but that the Congress must insist "on the fullest freedom to pursue its policy on the basis of non-violence". On the first two points there will be widespread agreement. "Congressmen", so runs the resolution, "cannot withhold their admiration for the bravery and endurance shown by the British nation in the face of danger and peril. They can have no ill will against them, and the spirit of satyagraha forbids the Congress from doing anything with a view to embarrass them." This tribute and assurance are opportune, and will be widely welcomed. There will also be relief among all classes of the people that whatever action Mr. Gandhi, as dictator of Congress policy, may take, it will not involve mass lawlessness.

But there are other features of the resolution and of Mr. Gandhi's exposition of it on Sunday which will arouse misgivings. In the first place the resolution makes it clear that the offer of conditional Congress co-operation with the British Government in the war has lapsed. Moreover, Mr. Gandhi explained very fully what Congress insistence "on the fullest freedom to pursue its policy based on non-violence" really means. He announced his intention of again seeing His Excellency the Viceroy and seeking from him a declaration that the Congress "can go on preaching anti-war propaganda and non-co-operation with Government in their war effort". If this declaration is given, there will be no civil disobedience; if it is not given, Mr. Gandhi will have to consider what action he should take, but he will do his best to avoid satyagraha. This amazing proposal is both impracticable and completely illogical. Mr. Gandhi professes his desire not to embarrass the British Government in any way, yet in the same breath he suggests that he should be allowed to do something which will hamper India's war effort and thus aid the enemy. Even Congress papers have already pointed out the impossibility of reconciling the two ideas. Anything which hinders India's war effort

[1] *Vide* p. 52.

must be an embarrassment to the British Government; it cannot be anything else.

This attitude clearly arises from a grievous misunderstanding of the European struggle. In his speech, Mr. Gandhi made two extraordinary statements. The first was that the peoples of Europe do not know what they are fighting for; the second that the Government of India should give expression to India's freedom by permitting the Congress to conduct an anti-war campaign in the name of liberty. We can assure Mr. Gandhi that the British people know full well what they are fighting for. It is far too late in the day for anyone who does not deliberately shut his eyes to hard facts to pretend that the war is merely a struggle between rival systems of so-called "imperialism". Mr. Gandhi should read *Main Kampf*; he should also study the speeches of those who expound Nazi aims, and he should note what Hitler had done to neutral countries in Europe. He should also pursue the report of Mr. Patel, the former Indian Trade Commissioner in Hamburg, who throws a flood of light on Nazi methods inside Germany in peace time. These things reveal with remarkable clarity the menace which Britain and her Allies are fighting—a menace realized no more keenly than in the United States of America. If Mr. Gandhi is right, the British people are wrong; so are the vast majority of Americans and all free Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Belgians, Norwegians, Poles and Danes who are struggling to rescue their country from Hitler's tyranny.

The fundamental difference between democracy and totalitarianism is evident to the merest child. The one system constitutes the greatest amount of individual freedom consistent with good government; the other regards humanity as a mob of automatons to be directed by the chosen few. There is not a single Congressman from Mr. Gandhi downwards who does not profess himself to be revolted by the totalitarian system and the mass slavery which it connotes; it is, therefore, almost incredible to find Mr. Gandhi calmly announcing that the British people, among others, have no idea what they are fighting for. Mr. Gandhi must also know that to preach anti-war propaganda and non-co-operation with the war effort in India is to advocate support for the enemy. His plan would create in this country an army of fifth columnists, which is exactly what Hitler desires. Surely Mr. Gandhi knows that Hitler has achieved his success hitherto in destroying democracy by the simple expedient of using the freedom which democracy bestows to encompass its downfall. If Mr. Gandhi seriously believes in democracy, he cannot pretend that this war is of no consequence to India, or that the people of India should be allowed to take no part in it. We sincerely trust that he will reconsider his position before approaching the Viceroy.

The Times of India, 17-9-1940

APPENDIX II

DANGER OF EXTINCTION[1]

It is very difficult to understand the reported proceedings of the Congress at Bombay. Wading through the sea of words, contradiction after contradiction serves to make the darkness more and more visible. One tangible point seems to be Mr. Gandhi's statement that, if the Viceroy will assure him that the Congressmen will be allowed publicly to advocate non-co-operation in the war-effort—stressing the fact that such non-co-operation must be non-violent—there will be no satyagraha of any kind on his part and that, in any case, there will be no mass civil disobedience. Our first reaction to this was to wonder why the Congress must always be asking for difficult statements and cannot leave well alone. The Government has never prohibited the conscientious teaching of pacifism in India any more than the British Government has interfered with it in Britain. The Quaker and the conscientious objector are not penalized in war unless they take action obviously calculated to help the enemy. Those who attempt to convert soldiers, sailors and airmen, and suborn these or others engaged in direct war work, are clearly helping the enemy. When a whole people is legally conscripted, as is the case in Britain now, the line is still more difficult to draw. Every worker is, in a sense, a war worker. Nevertheless, conversion to the view that it is wrong to be a combatant even in the most righteous cause is not likely to interfere with the output of the ordinary man who is doing civilian work. This is the point of view which is tolerated in Britain and has hitherto been tolerated in India. Mr. Gandhi's own astounding proposal that Britain should abjectly surrender to Hitler was even, at his own request, put before the War Cabinet which treated it with respect as a sincere opinion and sent a polite reply.

Why then, if you have got what you want, ask the Viceroy for a difficult statement which many will seek to twist and turn into a cloak for their efforts to help the enemy to conquer India? Other passages in Mr. Gandhi's speech throw light on this. What is in his mind is the wholesale arrests of Congress officials and workers which are now continually recorded in the Press, especially in the United Provinces. Details are not given, but the arrests are generally made under the Defence Regulations and appear to be because of speeches in connexion with the war. Mr. Gandhi says he wishes to point out to the Viceroy that the Congress is in danger of "extinction" during the

[1] *Vide* p. 53.

war because of its creed of non-violent non-co-operation, and he wants liberty for Congressmen to preach their doctrine.

We have often expressed our view about the fundamental immorality and contradictory character of the doctrine. Non-co-operation is a method of war and not of peace. For otherwise unarmed or defenceless people it is quite a reasonable method of making war or defending themselves, but it has no more spiritual value than war and probably much less; for it carries with it a pretentious claim to spiritual value which involves sanctimonious insincerities and mass hypocrisy, making intensified hatreds and accompanied by an extraordinary development of violence of language to compensate for the absence of real manliness in defending what must be defended if life is to be worth living. A nation which accepted this doctrine would doom itself to slavery and would breed generations of sycophantic hypocrites crawling before masters who despised them. It is no doctrine for India and, if the Congress persists in it, the Congress will certainly be "extinguished", either because India will have none of it, or because the Congress will so poison the country that Britain cannot save it from three or four totalitarian Powers determined to carve it up, in which case the Congress as an organization will never be heard of again.

Lust of conquest in one country and pacifism in an unaggressive country are twin poisons working together to produce war. The English pacifists have much to answer for. They preached the doctrine of surrender to a country innocent of any desire for war and had not the courage to stand on street corners in Berlin and Rome and go to prison. The non-co-operator has a better case. He was at war against the Government of India and he did go to prison, but he spoilt his case by pretending to be a pacifist. We have no quarrel with the Quaker or with any other quietist. He acts according to his conscience, but he seeks no converts, interferes with no one, and does positive good work in war time refusing true help and sympathy to no man whatever his nationality. But the man who preaches non-resistance and surrender in war time, whatever his motives, is weakening a nation's will to survive and is helping to destroy it and to deliver it to the enemy. Under this leadership, the Congress has nothing to offer India. At the same time, there is not sufficient assurance that the authorities everywhere—and the doubt is perhaps strongest in regard to the United Provinces—are acting intelligently in regard to the arrests of the Congressmen. It is not yet the accepted practice either in Britain or in India to arrest a man merely expressing pacifist views, though we do not ourselves see how in a war for survival a nation can tolerate aggressive pacifism, which must plainly be one of the enemy's assets. Having, however, recently seen people who were trying to help the war effort, arrested when they tried to organize an Anti-Fascists Day, we cannot help having some doubts whether sufficient care is always taken to prevent injustice. It is necessary to arrest men who preach revolution or

violence or any form of action to impede war effort. But it is not yet the business of the authorities to prevent sincere expression of personal conviction of a non-violent character, still less to attempt the extinction of Congress in the name of the war. The Congress is in danger of extinguishing itself and needs no interference. So are the Pakistanists and the vested interests, some of them British, in the services or in business which stand in the way of the war effort. To survive, we have all to shed many prejudices yet and develop new attitudes and new leadership.

The Statesman, 17-9-1940

APPENDIX III

LETTER FROM LORD LINLITHGOW[1]

SIMLA,
September 30, 1940

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I think it will be convenient if I record very briefly in writing the origin of the talks that we have had on the 27th and 30th September and their outcome.

As you will remember, you wrote to me on the 18th September to ask that I should grant you an interview, and you explained in your letter that you were anxious to discuss the situation covered by the recent resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, not only in your capacity as guide of the Congress but as a personal friend. I was, I need not say, most ready to talk things over with you, and we have now had the advantage of two conversations.

In the course of these conversations the situation has been exhaustively discussed, with particular reference to the question of free speech in time of war. On that matter, while professing yourself most anxious to avoid in any way embarrassing His Majesty's Government in the prosecution of the war, you made it clear to me that you regarded it as essential that the Indian National Congress and other members of the public should be in a position to give full expression to their views in relation to the war effort, provided only that such expression was fully non-violent.

I indicated to you the nature of the special treatment laid down by law in the United Kingdom for dealing with conscientious objectors—which I may broadly describe as an arrangement under which, while the conscientious objector is absolved from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to

[1] *Vide* p. 71.

profess his faith in public, he is not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of endeavouring to persuade others, whether soldiers or munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort.

You made it clear to me that you would not regard treatment of that nature as adequate in the conditions of India, and that you regarded it as essential that in India, where in your judgment conditions were wholly different from those existing in Great Britain, the Indian objector, either to all war as such, or to the participation of India in the present war, should be untramelled in the expression of his views.

It emerged further from our conversation that, while you would not yourself preach to workers engaged on war work at the actual works, in an endeavour there to dissuade them from working on war equipment, you could regard it as essential that it should be open to Congressmen and non-Congressmen alike to deliver addresses and otherwise to call upon people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war effort in any way which would involve India's participation in bloodshed.

I listened with the utmost care and attention to your argument, and our examination of the situation has been full and close. I felt bound, however, in the outcome, to make it clear to you that action such as you suggest would certainly amount not only to the inhibition of India's war effort, but to that embarrassment of Great Britain in the prosecution of the war which the Congress state that they are anxious to avoid; and that it would clearly not be possible in the interests of India herself, more particularly at this most critical juncture in the war, to acquiesce in the interference with the war effort which would be involved in freedom of speech so wide as that for which you had asked.

Harijan, 6-10-1940

APPENDIX IV

LETTER FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU[1]

ANAND BHAVAN, ALLAHABAD,
October 2, 1940

MY DEAR BAPU,

About six weeks ago, when I was in Bombay for the Planning Committee, I had a remarkable experience, which has oppressed me often since then. I should have told you about it when you were in Bombay last but the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. filled my mind and I forgot. I did not want to write about it through the post.

[1] *Vide* p. 81.

I came back from the Planning Committee during the midday interval for food. I had to go back soon after and was pressed for time. Just then a young English boy turned up at my sister's flat. He was dressed in khadi—a shirt and loose pyjamas and [a] cap. He told me that he was an officer in the army—a Second Lieutenant—and had decided to leave the army and face the consequences. He produced a copy of a document which he said he had given to his Commanding Officer and which had been forwarded to Army Headquarters at Simla. I read this and was amazed. It was a very fine statement. I enclose a copy of it and you can read it for yourself.

His name was Napier. He was the great grandson of the Napier who is said to have conquered Sind. The family since then had been intimately connected with the army. Apparently it came down in the world. Young Napier joined as a private a few years before the war began. But because he was a bright lad, and possibly also because of his family, he got a scholarship for Sandhurst and later became a commissioned officer. He was sent with his regiment to India a month or two after the war began. He was stationed at Mhow in Central India. Evidently he did not fit in with his brother officers. He was more serious and intellectual and he felt drawn towards India, especially to the poorer classes. He avoided officers' messes and spent his time in the bazaar or elsewhere talking to paltry shopkeepers, labourers, etc. He tried to pick up Hindustani. I think he gave a good part of his salary to the poor.

This was not liked by his brother officers. The Commanding Officer spoke to him about it and they had many arguments. He began to dislike his profession, and especially service in India, more and more. He wanted to leave it but this was not possible in war time. Ultimately he gave the enclosed note to his C.O.

His regiment was transferred from Mhow to Jhansi. This gave him a day and a half or two to join up at Jhansi. He decided to burn his boats whatever the consequences and went and sold his uniform. This was done chiefly to put a definite end to his military career—also to raise some money. He did not, particularly, want to be sent back from India to England.

He then telephoned to Allahabad to get into touch with me and learnt—found—I was in Bombay and got my address; went straight to Bombay and to my sister's house from the station.

This was a novel situation for me and I was completely taken aback. My heart went out to this young and terribly sincere boy of 25 but I did not know what to do. By coming to Bombay he had deserted—and that too in war time. This is the gravest offence in military law and there was no doubt that he would be arrested in a day or two and court-martialled. I found from him that he was due to report at Jhansi the next morning. There was just a chance of his getting back to Jhansi in time if he took the next train which left soon after.

I wanted to have a much longer talk with Napier but already I had kept the Planning Committee waiting. If he had to go back to Jhansi by the next train then there was going to be no other chance. I felt he must go back. To be charged with desertion was to confuse the issue apart from other consequences. He had already made his position perfectly clear to the army authorities and he could face them and fight them on that issue. I could hardly conceive of his remaining in the British Army after his declaration of faith. Nor could I see how he was to get out of it. Army authorities do not permit this kind of thing. What was going to happen to him I could not guess, but it seemed to be clear that he would have a very hard time. Anyway I felt that this question must not be mixed up with desertion. I advised him, therefore, to go back by the next train to Jhansi and to report himself to the C.O. there. I further suggested to him not to do so in khadi *kurta* and pyjamas. He said he had shorts, etc., and he would wear them. I asked him if he had enough money. He said he had quite enough for his purpose.

He accepted my advice and said he would go back. I asked him to communicate with me, if possible, or with my sister, and to let me know what happened. We have had no news of him since. I am told now that every regiment that is sent to Jhansi, goes off soon after to Egypt. I am trying to find out now what had happened to Napier's regiment. It is quite likely that because of his views and his escapade he was kept under arrest and prevented from communicating, and later sent out of India.

His face haunts me and I often wonder if I advised him rightly.

Yours affectionately,

[ENCLOSURE—NAPIER'S NOTE]

August 1940

Having regard to the fact that the country is at war and it is not possible for an officer to resign his commission in the normal manner I hereunder at the request of my Commanding Officer set down my considered opinions, in the belief that these are incompatible with the retention of my commission. I am infinitely more proud of these opinions than of the the fact that my family has an unbroken tradition of service in the British Army for the past 150 years, and that one of my forbears played no small part in conquering India.

I am opposed to British Rule in India. I consider that a country should be ruled by its inhabitants, because freedom is the most important thing of all. It is even more important than food, but food is also important. In India no one has freedom, and a large proportion of the population have insufficient food, a fact plainly evident to any Englishman who took the trouble to miss his drinks at the club for one evening and go into the country to look,

I am opposed to the British Empire. I consider it to be an association for the making of money, propagated by merchants in England under a hypothetical screen of "Empire glory and the betterment of the native races". I consider this bad for the majority of people in England, bad for India, and bad for the world. There is this much difference between Hitlerism and Bolshevism on the one hand and British Imperialism on the other. The latter gives liberty and food to some and neither to others. The former gives food to all and liberty to none. I am opposed to modern European civilization, which is the grandiose name under which the present mess in the vicinity of the North Sea is known. I find it difficult to believe that the peoples at present engaged in a mad struggle generated by greed and fear are a force for good in the world. European civilization has produced the means for making things, and rather more efficiently the means for destroying what it has made. Its most important effect on the mind of the ordinary man is that it has produced an inability to think, and a distrust of those who can. It is seen at its best in war time, when everyone has work and money, and is reasonably happy in the pursuit of killing his fellow men. In peace time, there is unemployment, starvation and misery. Surely even an Englishman can see something wrong there.

I am opposed to the Englishman as a means of spreading culture and civilization. The average Englishman values his body to such an extent that he neglects his mind. Certainly the body should be fit, and be exercised to be fit, but why do people assume that the mind needs no exercise. An effete mind in a healthy body is a matter for satisfaction to an Englishman, whereas an active mind in a feeble body is a thing of contempt to him. English ideas of life are with few exceptions based on this principle, which is in direct opposition to the Oriental view of life. I cannot willingly help the English to propagate suet-headed mentality. And for the third part of man, that elusive thing called soul! The average Englishman neglects this completely. The English are an irreligious people. The lower classes make no bones about this; on the other hand the higher classes treat religion as a social function. By a mixture of hypocrisy and sheer stupidity they manage to convince themselves they are Christians, though in practice they utterly disregard the magnificent precepts of their religion, and if Christ were to appear today in England, they would regard him as a most undesirable fellow. One point of the Christian religion is to pray daily. *You* who read this, do you pray daily? Would you kneel down in a public place and pray to your God? Yet Indians do this every day. I am not religious myself, a fact which I consider a cause for regret. I am not a Christian, but neither do I pretend to be one. Despite this I deplore my unacceptability in the eyes of my Commanding Officer, a thing which no decent Englishman would do, be he Christian or no. Nor do I in spite of my irreligion scoff at the beliefs of others, whose ignorance and superstition at the present time is due to a

Government which so far from teaching them anything, has in a hundred and fifty years made no attempt to see that they have sufficient to eat. I have as much sympathy with the Hindu religion as with the Christian, and infinitely more with the Indian people than with the British.

Few Europeans object to the British themselves, but most of them object to their hypocrisy, which allows them to feather their nests at the expense of all and sundry while believing themselves in a muddled sort of way to be the saviours of mankind.

Few Indians like the British or their rule. This applies equally inside the the Cantonments as outside them. The people whose work depends on the British keep their opinions to themselves, but outside the Cantonments any man who is not in receipt of a Government pension will very gladly say what his opinions are. As to the opinion of Indians in the Army, particularly those commissioned, I leave it for someone sufficiently painstaking to find out. Considering that the state of the average Englishman in such matters is such that after thirty years in the country he can with difficulty speak the language, there seems little chance of this happening. But it is quite an important question; and the answer is not merely 'Yes' or 'No'. In India all questions have several answers.

Finally I must assert that I am not taking this course without due consideration, nor was it on the spur of the moment that I suggested to my Commanding Officer that it might be better if I left the Army. I have a good position; pay that is roughly twice my requirements (thanks to the munificence of the Government at the cost of a population who need it far more than myself), in addition to a scholarship obtained with some labour at the Royal Military College. I am now prepared to leave that, to leave a profession in which I have always been keen, and to cut myself off from such friends and relations as I have in England. 'Prepared' is not the right word. 'Hoping' would be more appropriate. I do this against the advice of every Indian in the *bazar*, who assures me that though he would certainly prefer an *Indian* Government to a British one, he has no intention of doing anything about it, since his livelihood depends on the British. I am well aware that anything I may do will make scarcely a ripple in an ocean which at the present time is as near to being churned with blood as ever before. But if one must join in the general fight in this mad world, it is surely a feeble creature who would not fight for what he believes to be right, even if he must do it without a bank balance. Freedom is more important than food.

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1940. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

APPENDIX V

LETTER FROM LORD LINLITHGOW[1]

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
October 24, 1940

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have given all possible consideration to your letter of the 20th October and have seen your telegram of the 21st. My further enquiries and the papers which you have sent confirm me in what I told you in my telegram of the 19th October, viz., that no censorship orders were issued by the Central Government. What was done was to advise local editors in their own interests to refer for scrutiny any matter which might be a prejudicial report and the publication of which might, therefore, expose them to penalties under the Defence of India Rules. This, I am informed, is the usual procedure by which the Press are able to obtain advice in doubtful cases.

2. I can, of course, appreciate your desire for freedom to conduct a civil disobedience movement in the way that commends itself to you and I can understand that for that purpose you wish to enjoy unrestricted access to the public through the ordinary channels of publicity. Although, however, you evidently wish me to believe that this movement which you have initiated will be more dangerous if you do not enjoy these facilities, I must credit you personally with the desire that it should succeed in its avowed object, that of persuading the public to withhold all support from India's war effort. I must, therefore, assume that any opportunities afforded to you would be used solely for that purpose. In so far as you ask for my co-operation in such a plan, I must once more make it plain to you as I did in our conversation at the end of September that both I myself as the representative of His Majesty's Government in this country and the Government of India as responsible for its security have a very definite obligation to perform, and it would be disingenuous of me were I to leave any doubt that activities, the effect of which may be prejudicial in terms of the prosecution of the war and which infringe the law, cannot but attract the provisions of the law; and that it would not be possible for me or for the Government of India, consistently with the formal obligations falling upon us, to acquiesce in them. You know how greatly I regret that there should be this conflict of views between yourself and Government as

[1] *Vide* pp. 115 and 137.

regards the limits within which speeches of a certain character or activities of a certain character affecting the prosecution of the war may be allowed to pass unnoticed, but a point must inevitably be reached at which here as at home and elsewhere in the Empire they cannot but attract, as I have said above, the sanctions which the law provides.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

From a copy: C.W. 7853 a. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

APPENDIX VI

LETTER FROM SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE[1]

CALCUTTA,
December 23, 1940

When Mahadevbhai saw me in the Presidency Jail, I took the opportunity of conveying a message to you. I requested him to tell you that, if you launched a movement, then our services would be entirely at your disposal, for what they were worth. I also wanted him to request you to take the initiative in settling the dispute in Bengal, so that the Province could throw its whole weight into the movement. Since you have been appointed Dictator, you could easily take up this matter on behalf of the Congress. So, I thought.

At the time, my fond expectation was that you would launch a mass movement, as you had done in 1921, 1930 and 1932, though Mahadevbhai told me that you had been thinking of individual civil disobedience. Today it is clear that the movement launched by you is not on the issue of our national demand for independence. Nor is this movement a mass struggle. If the Government were to permit anti-war speeches, it appears to me, the movement would come to an end. Nevertheless we would like to co-operate with such a movement, despite its restricted scope and form, so far as it lies in our power consistently with our political stand. We would like to know if you would accept our co-operation for what it is worth—and if so, what you would like us to do in pursuance of this offer of co-operation. This proffered co-operation is unconditional in the sense that whatever grievances we may have against the Congress High Command will not stand in our way. If and when the High Command deal with us unfairly and unjustly, we shall have to react accordingly. We may have to fight the arbitrary and high-handed action of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at the present time. But this can never blind us to the

[1] *Vide* p. 264.

larger issues before the country, and there you can have our fullest co-operation, consistently with our political stand. I beg you to accept our offer of co-operation.

Regarding the Bengal situation, I had told Mahadevbhai that if you desired unity, you could have it for the mere asking, and all that was necessary was a talk between you and my brother, Sarat Babu. Since then the situation has deteriorated. You have chosen to remain silent and indifferent. The Maulana has been rushing headlong along the mad path of what he calls disciplinary action. I am not bothered about it, because if he wills it and seeks it, we are ready to meet him on his own ground. He cannot affect our public position in the least, and he has only been making himself ridiculous before the public of this province and thereby dragging the name of the Congress to the dust. Since the Maulana's action seems to have your tacit approval, I am not seeking your intervention in this matter. All that I desire is that, despite this unfortunate side-show which has been forced on us, we should co-operate where larger issues are concerned, and so far as we are concerned, we are anxious to co-operate. In all sincerity, I am offering you our co-operation.

I am sending this letter through a relative who is going to Nagpur. I am asking him to wait for a reply.

How is your health? The papers again give disquieting news. I am progressing, but slowly.

The Hindu, 24-2-1941

APPENDIX VII

LETTER FROM SIR J. G. LAITHWAITE[1]

VICEROY'S CAMP, SUNDERBANS,
January 4, 1941

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th December, which I have laid before His Excellency. You must not regard my letter of the 27th December, which dealt solely with your request for the Viceroy's personal assistance for intervention and action in the transmission of your message, as in any way an exhaustive exposition of the reasons which have necessitated the decision of which you complain, and the observations contained in it as to His Excellency's personal feelings could quite clearly have no relations whatever to the matter of publicity in India. It will, however, be obvious to you that so far as a

[1] *Vide* pp. 267 and 287.

personal request such as you made is concerned, it would be out of the question for the head of the Executive Government, merely on personal grounds, to take special steps to facilitate the transmission of a document which, in the respects alluded to in my letter, any other relevant considerations apart, he cannot but regard as containing an unfair presentation of very important facts to its addressee.

His Excellency asks me to add that as this correspondence which started on an entirely personal basis is clearly taken by your letter of the 30th December into the official field, and as he thinks it important that the official and personal fields should not overlap, he feels that he has no option, in the interests of avoiding misunderstanding, but with great reluctance, to conclude that the present channel of communication had better not be further pursued in regard to the present matter.

But he asks me to take the opportunity to add an expression of his appreciation of the attitude displayed in the concluding paragraph of your letter under reply.

Yours sincerely,
J. G. LAITHWAITE

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

APPENDIX VIII

LETTER FROM SIR J. G. LAITHWAITE[1]

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
January 28, 1941

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 16th January which I have laid before His Excellency. He is very glad to note your decision, and he asks me to say that he much appreciates the emphasis you have laid in your letter on your attitude towards the embarrassing of authority.

I see that you are under some misapprehension as to the manner in which the statements enclosed with your letter failed to appear in the Press. There is no such thing as the censorship of matter intended for publication in the Indian Press nor has any prohibition been issued in respect of your two statements. In view, however, of the provisions of the Defence of India Rules regarding the publication of prejudicial reports, Press agencies and editors have the option of voluntarily submitting for advice messages in regard to which

[1] *Vide* p. 288.

they feel any doubt. In giving advice on such references the Press Advisers have regard only to the question whether the matter submitted contains any prejudicial report, the publication of which would render the person concerned liable to prosecution under the Defence of India Rules. You will see, for instance, that both the Congress Pledge and your own statement[1] about Independence Day, although similarly referred for Press advice, were passed for publication, because they had no direct connection with movement intended to interfere with the prosecution of the war. On the other hand, both the statements[2] enclosed with your letter were, I regret to say, of this nature. Although considerable portions of them could have been published without objection, at least from the point of view of the war, each of them contained numerous passages which were clearly intended or likely to encourage and instruct persons engaged in your civil disobedience movement. This movement in its present form consists of the uttering in public of slogans purporting to dissuade the public from participation in the war effort and thus in the words of the Defence of India Rules "to influence the conduct or attitude of the public or any section of the public in a manner likely to be prejudicial to the defence of British India or to the efficient prosecution of the war". In so far as they contained such passages, the statements in question could not have been published without exposing the editor or Press agency concerned to the risk of prosecution and the Press Advisers were only performing their clear duty in advising the Press against their publication. The Press were of course not obliged to take this advice, but you would not expect them, I think, to take a risk of which they were warned and you will see the dilemma in which they are placed when they receive such statements from you for publication. His Excellency feels sure that you will appreciate that the liberty of the Press does not and cannot in any country mean the right to publish anything without prosecution, more especially at a time of grave emergency such as this, and that without any interference with such liberty the Press Advisers were fully justified in giving the advice they did and the Press in accepting it.

Yours sincerely,
J. G. LAITHWAITE

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* pp. 279-80.
[2] *Vide* pp. 276-7 and 281-3.

APPENDIX IX

LETTER FROM T. B. SAPRU[1]

January 28, 1941

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

I thank you for your letter of the 25th of January, which I received yesterday. I am glad to know that my article in the *Twentieth Century* had attracted your notice.

I read in the papers that you had gone to Bombay to see Mr. Jinnah but I do not know what exactly passed between you and him there. I met Mr. Jinnah by the merest accident at Dr. Berger's Clinic in Bombay on the 6th or the 7th of August last. He came up to me and asked me to have tea with him. Accordingly I went to him the next day and I had a conversation with him lasting for about one hour and a half. He told me what had transpired between you and him at Delhi and of the differences which arose between you and him in the presence of the Viceroy. My impression was that though there was a general conversation between you and him on some of the political demands of the Congress, the communal question did not specifically form the subject of discussion.

You are, if I may say so, quite right in saying that we have to settle our domestic troubles ourselves and that without thinking whether the British will accept our joint demands or not. That has always been my view. I am afraid, the communal situation has been allowed too long to deteriorate from bad to worse and I very strongly feel that that is *the one question* to which every one of us (and particularly you with your influence) have to address ourselves. For so long as these differences last among ourselves, I am afraid, real self-government is difficult to achieve and still more difficult to maintain.

During the Christmas Week Nawab Mohammad Ismail and Nawab Liaquat Ali Khan were here in connection with the session of the Provincial Muslim league. The former, who is an old friend of mine, came to see me and I met the latter at the house of a common friend. We talked freely and pleasantly and the impression left on my mind was that though the task of settlement would present great difficulties, it was by no means hopeless. I had no talk with Mr. Jinnah on the question of Pakistan. I believe the word 'Pakistan' is a convenient phrase which has been adopted by the Muslim League to cover a multitude of political and constitutional ideas. If it means a partition of

[1] *Vide* pp. 297 and 310.

India then I do not mind saying that I am very strongly opposed to it. If it means a reconsideration of certain political ideas and readjustment of some constitutional provisions then I should not rule out their discussion. In any case, however, for the purpose of conversations intended to achieve a communal settlement, it would not be right for any party to impose on the other any kind of conditions precedent. I can see no reason why Mr. Jinnah should decline to meet you. Not only would it be rude on his part to decline to meet you but it would also put him positively in the wrong, if he were to adopt that sort of attitude.

You say in your letter that "he does not want a settlement till he has so consolidated the League position that he can dictate his terms to all the parties concerned including the rulers" and that you "often feel like writing to him but lose courage when it comes to the point of taking up my pen". You are, however, a man of infinite courage and you are big enough to rise superior to petty considerations of a conventional character. I see no reason why you should not write to him a perfectly courteous letter—as you always do—telling him that in the interest of the country you should like to have an opportunity of meeting him and discussing the whole situation so as to see whether an honourable settlement, which will be satisfactory to all the parties concerned, is possible. If he makes a satisfactory response, I think, you should take the step forward. That will heighten and strengthen your position and the position of the Congress and of the Hindus at large. If he makes no response to your request or adopts a truculent attitude that is bound to recoil on his head and on the party which he represents. My own belief is that the farther away the parties can be from each other, the greater is the misunderstanding and the more difficult the task of reconciliation.

You then say in your letter: "But if you have faith why don't you see him without being asked by anybody?" As a private individual I should have no objection at all to meeting him or anybody else but the real difficulty that I feel about my position is that I cannot pretend to represent the Congress or the Hindus. I can write to him (and am quite willing to do so) suggesting that he should meet you or that if you write to him saying that you want to meet him, he should receive you and talk to you. I should not, however, write to him without your permission. If you will permit me, I can also write to Nawab Mohammad Ismail, who, I know, is a very good man and who, I feel, will sincerely welcome peace and harmony. You may be sure that whether I write to Mr. Jinnah or to Nawab Ismail or to anyone, I am not going to commit you or anyone to any position. I can only throw out a suggestion for the initiation of conversations. Hitherto I have written no kind of letter on the subject to Mr. Jinnah or any other Muslim friend and I have scrupulously avoided during the last one year and a half writing to the Viceroy or any British official at Delhi or Simla. Last time that I saw the Viceroy was in September 1939. Holding the views that I do, I feel very strongly that it

is no use my seeing him or writing to him in the midst of these differences, which divide one party from another and one set of politicians from another. It is because of this feeling that both in the statement that I issued last month to the Press and in my article in the *Twentieth Century* I have laid emphasis on the desirability of a communal settlement and of your meeting Mr. Jinnah. Speaking for myself I do not attach much importance to the general criticism of British policy that the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have given a veto to the minorities. Whether they have done so or not, it is up to us to set our house in order and once we have done that, I think, we shall have gained the strength which it will be impossible on political grounds for anyone at Delhi, Simla or Whitehall to resist.

It is my misfortune that on some political questions I differ from many of my countrymen and have very strong convictions but I should do everything that lay in my power to pave the way for the communal settlement to which I attach far greater importance than I do to mere academic discussions of this political theory or that. In short, if you permit me, I am quite willing to write to Mr. Jinnah and some other Muslim friends. I would much rather that you took the lead at a suitable opportunity of calling a conference than that any outsider or common friends howsoever well-intentioned assumed responsibility for such a conference. Some friends have written to me about it but I am not yet convinced that it would do any good for any private individuals to call such a conference or to wait on the Viceroy. This must be left to you and Mr. Jinnah and I feel very strongly that if you take the lead in this matter, good may result.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,

MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI
SEVAGRAM
WARDHA

From a copy: C.W. 10278. Courtesy: National Library

APPENDIX X

LETTER FROM T. B. SAPRU[1]

February 12, 1941

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

I received your letter of the 9th of February yesterday. I was, however, surprised to know from you that my last letter of the 6th of February had somewhat disconcerted you. I see no reason why it should have. . . .

[1] *Vide* pp. 320 and 337. Only excerpts are reproduced here.

In your letter of the 1st of February you say: "Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah says, I can only talk to him as a Hindu for Hindus. I cannot do it. If I write to him that I want to meet him, he won't decline to meet me. But I know the result." In the present state of feeling I admit that it is quite understandable that he should think that you are the greatest stumbling block. Towards the end of that letter you wrote to me: "But of course you should pursue the subject after your own style with whomsoever you may think fit." This sentence led me to believe that I was at liberty to write to Jinnah in my own style and to suggest to him that he should meet you.

I am herewith enclosing a copy of my letter to Jinnah. You will find from it that among other things I have written to him as follows: (a) "I represent neither the one party nor the other. I can neither offer nor accept terms. I can only appeal to you in my individual capacity—in the capacity of one who strongly and genuinely holds that the Muslims are an integral part of India and that their willing co-operation with other communities must necessarily condition the nature, extent and speed of the progress of the country." Then I wrote to him: (b) "I think conversations, or if I may use a hackneyed phrase, heart-to-heart conversations, may possibly lead to some satisfactory results."

My suggestions to him are contained in the following sentences: "I am, therefore, venturing to suggest on my own account, without committing any other person, or any other party, to my views or suggestions that (1) you should agree first to meet Mr. Gandhi, and then the process of private talks could be extended to others. (2) If you and other leaders then think that it would serve the best interests of the country to invite a joint conference, then you all could take the necessary step. If your reply to my suggestion is that you will be prepared to see Mr. Gandhi and talk over matters with him, I shall write to him and press it on him that he must see you at Bombay or any other place that may suit your convenience. I hope very strongly that he will be quite willing to see you in Bombay or any other convenient place and discuss things with you."

After careful consideration of the whole position I do not see any reason to regret the letter that I have written to Mr. Jinnah. I could not reasonably ask him to give me the undertaking that he would certainly come to a settlement with you when you met. The basis of a settlement is for you and him and others to decide; but in my opinion it would not be right for any party to impose any kind of conditions precedent on the other or to have any such assurances.

I do not wish my letter to him at all to interfere with any other line of action that may possibly be under contemplation or in progress; and I have, therefore, decided to drop the matter altogether. If Mr. Jinnah writes to me any letter and if it is of a satisfactory character, I shall communicate the same to you and leave it to you to come to your own decision. But in view

of your last letter to me, I shall not, as I have said above, pursue the matter any further.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI
SEVAGRAM
WARDHA

ENCLOSURE

From a copy: C.W. 10283. Courtesy: National Library

APPENDIX XI

EXTRACTS FROM "PARTING OF THE WAYS"[1]

In the mind and heart of India there was a conflict. There was an intense dislike of Fascism and Nazism and no desire to see them win. If India could but be convinced that this war was being fought for a new world order, for real freedom, then indeed India would throw all her weight and strength into it. But imperialism and we were old acquaintances, very old, with many generations of contact. We knew each other, suspected each other, and disliked each other thoroughly. There was this background of one hundred and eighty years of hostility, of exploitation, of bitterness, of promises unfulfilled, of disruptive and reactionary movements encouraged, and attempts to break up the national unity of India. It was no easy matter for us to get over these tremendous hurdles, or remove the complexes that had grown up. Yet we said we would do it, but we could not even attempt it unless a great psychological shock was given to the people, a pleasant shock, which would suddenly change the air of India and get rid of fears and complexes. That pleasant shock could only come by an unequivocal declaration of independence and immediate steps to give effect to the popular will in the carrying on of the administration. Unless this was done, no man in India, nor group, could make the people move in the direction of willing association with the war. Wars today required mass support and even authoritarian countries have to whip up their people by ceaseless propaganda. No war can be fought effectively by a professional army in an atmosphere of public ill will or indifference. So even from the narrower point of view of organizing India's defence or India's participation in the war effort, a popular representative government was essential. Imperialism can coerce; it cannot win public approval and goodwill.

I repeat that it is incorrect to say that there is any new parting of the ways, for our ways never lay together. But this declaration of the British Government

[1] *Vide* p. 375.

means the final breaking of such slender bonds as held our minds together, it means the ending of all hope that we shall ever march together. I am sorry, for in spite of my hostility to British imperialism and all imperialisms, I have loved much that was England, and I should have liked to keep the silken bonds of the spirit between India and England. Those bonds can only exist in freedom. I wanted India's freedom for India's sake of course; but I also wanted it for England's sake. That hope is shattered and fate seems to have fashioned a different future for us. The way of co-operation is not for us; the hundred-year-old hostility will remain and grow in future conflicts, and the breach when it comes, as come it must, will also not be in friendship but in hostility.

The British Government says, it will not coerce an important group to impose a system of government which this does not like. The alternative surely is that it will coerce other groups who want that particular system of government. What exactly has the function of the British Government been, and what is it today, in India? It is to coerce the Indian people as a whole, every group, in order to maintain its own hold and special position. It is to suppress Indian industry in favour of British industry in India. It is to maintain an army of occupation whose chief function is to coerce the Indian people. It is to uphold Indian princes by coercing their subjects into submission. It is strange to be told that the British Government does not want to use coercion. What else does it do in India?

That is the goal of India—a united, free, democratic country, closely associated in a world federation with other free nations. We want independence, but not the old type of narrow, exclusive independence. We believe that the day of separate warring national State is over.

The Parting of the Ways

APPENDIX XII

MAHADEV DESAI'S LETTER TO DESMOND YOUNG[1]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 22, 1941

DEAR MR. YOUNG,

On return to Wardha I have had some talk with Gandhiji over our correspondence about the restarting of the *Harijan*. Shri Srinivasan was also here, especially to urge Gandhiji to restart it. And it is after some deliberation that I am writing this.

[1] *Vide* p. 379.

While there is in the correspondence little to encourage us to revive the *Harijan*, there is no doubt that there was enough in our informal talks—both between you and me, and between Sir Richard Tottenham and Shri Srinivasan—which could help a favourable decision. Above all there is the urgent desire of Shri Srinivasan and many of the members of the Standing Committee, as also of the general reading public, which Gandhiji cannot possibly ignore. He has, therefore, come to the conclusion that it would now be discourteous, if not improper, not to comply with the wish so generally expressed. We propose to bring out the first issue on the 29th March.

But before we do so, I owe it to you to tell you again that both Gandhiji and I are completely identified with the satyagraha movement, and our editing of the *Harijan* cannot but bear the colour and impress of that identification, though it will be solely with a view to keeping the spirit of non-violence alive in a world of strife and bloodshed. If you feel therefore that we had better not to restart the paper, you have but to send me a wire. I will not misunderstand it, and say nothing in public about it, for the simple reason that I have not yet announced the decision to restart the paper.

Yours sincerely,
MAHADEV DESAI

From a copy: C.W. 10293

APPENDIX XIII

NON-PARTY LEADERS' CONFERENCE RESOLUTION[1]

March 14, 1941

While India should not take advantage of Britain's difficulties in her heroic struggle, the Conference is equally desirous that India's domestic problems should not be pressed to her disadvantage. As a first step towards the removal of the present deadlock and until a permanent constitution is brought into force, the Conference desires to emphasize the immediate need for the reconstruction of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

The Conference considers that the present Council, which consists of three European members of the Indian Civil Service, and three Indians of whom two are non-officials and one is a member of the Indian Civil Service, in addition to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, is neither adequate nor sufficiently representative to organize and direct India's war efforts at this moment of grave period. This Conference is anxious that India's defences should be put on a firm basis and that resources of this great

[1] *Vide* p. 393.

country in men and material should be used to the fullest advantage not only for defending her own frontiers but for helpling the British people to the fullest extent possible consistently with the best interests of India.

For the reasons mentioned above, this Conference is of the opinion that the whole Executive Council should consist of non-official Indians drawn from important elements in the public life of the country. This would naturally involve the transfer of all portfolios, including the vital ones of finance and defence, to Indians.

The Conference would be content during the period of the war that the reconstructed centre remains responsible to the Crown; and so far as defence is concerned, the position of the Commander-in-Chief as the Executive head of the defence forces of the country should not be in any way prejudiced. At the same time the Conference is strongly of the view that the reconstructed Government should not merely be a collection of departmental heads, but should deal with all important matters of policy on a basis of joint and collective responsibility. In regard to all interimperial and international matters, the reconstructed Government should be treated on the same footing as the Dominion Governments.

The Conference is further of the opinion that with a view to create a favourable atmosphere for the working of the reconstructed Central Government, it is necessary to remove the doubts and misgivings of the people of this country as regards the genuineness of the intentions of His Majesty's Government by making a declaration simultaneously with the reconstruction of the Government that within a specified time limit after the conclusion of the war, India will enjoy the same measure of freedom as will be enjoyed by Britain and the Dominions.

The Conference authorizes its President, the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to communicate the terms of the resolution to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India and to take such other steps as may be necessary to achieve its objects.'

The Indian Annual Register, Vol. I, pp. 307-8

APPENDIX XIV

SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM'S LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI[1]

Confidential

HOME DEPARTMENT, NEW DELHI,
March 27, 1941

DEAR MR. MAHADEV DESAI,

Mr. Desmond Young has shown me the correspondence[2] which he has had with you about the publication of the *Harijan* and it will, I think, be convenient if I make the position of the Government of India clear. In the first place, there is no question of Government advising against publication. The decision whether or not to resume publication of the *Harijan*, must of course be entirely a matter for Mr. Gandhi himself, and is one which the Government are not concerned to influence in any way. In the second place, you are of course aware of the limits imposed by the Defence of India Rules on the publication of news or comment which may fall within their mischief; and you will not, I am certain, misunderstand me if I add, in the most friendly way, that these Rules must necessarily be of general application. I am, however, glad to infer from your correspondence that should Mr. Gandhi in fact decide to resume publication, it will be in the hope of assisting rather than of causing embarrassment to Government.

Yours sincerely,
R. TOTTENHAM

From a copy: C.W. 10294

APPENDIX XV

DISCUSSION WITH R. S. RUIKAR[3]

[On or before *March 30, 1941*][4]

GANDHIJI: Shall I congratulate you upon your defence and acquittal in appeal?

[1] *Vide* pp. 405, 408 and 440.
[2] *Vide* Appendix XII.
[3] *Vide* p. 430.
[4] The source had reported this from a "despatch dated March 30, 1941, to *The Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta, from its special correspondent at Sevagram".

RUIKAR: I have not been able to understand the fundamental difference between you and Sjt. Subhas Bose.

G. Is it not clear in the first letter of Mr. Bose which he wrote to me?

R. No, it is not clear to me.

G. The fundamental difference is about non-violence.

R. So far as the present struggle is concerned, Sjt. Bose and the Forward Bloc agree that it has to be carried on non-violently.

G. No. Non-violence means that you must believe in the emblem of non-violence—which is charkha, Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability.

R. So far as the last two items are concerned, we believe in them.

G. No. The real emblem of non-violence is the charkha which Sjt. Bose ridicules.

R. What about Pandit Jawaharlal and Maulana Azad?

G. But Pandit Jawaharlal has agreed to abide by all the conditions imposed by me. It was only when he agreed and conveyed his acceptance that I allowed him to be the second satyagrahi. Even now he sends reports from jail that he is regularly spinning and has therefore faith in the charkha, so far at least as the present struggle is concerned.

R. Suppose a man has faith in non-violence and is prepared to work for Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability but does not believe in charkha—would you say that this is a fundamental difference between him and you?

G. No. If I am the General of the Army, I choose my own emblem, and, so far as I am concerned, charkha is the emblem of non-violence.

R. Gandhiji, your philosophy of non-violence is a world philosophy and world policy, would you put Hindu-Muslim unity as one of the emblems in America or England?

G. No; obviously it could not be. So far as India is concerned, the emblem of non-violence is charkha and one who wants to join the army must accept the condition of the General.

R. Mahatmaji, do you not contemplate some compromise with the Muslim League at some stage or other?

G. Yes.

R. Do you expect the Muslim League to accept charkha as the emblem of non-violence and to co-operate with them?

G. No.

R. On what condition will you have compromise with the League?

G. On common grounds on which we can work together.

R. Don't you agree with me that there are more common grounds of agreement with Sjt. Subhas Bose and the Forward Bloc than with the Muslim League?

G. Yes; I agree that there are more common grounds of agreement between Sjt. Bose and me than between the League and me; but because

Sjt Bose insists on working inside the Congress, I cannot work with him. If he goes out of the Congress, then there will be more common grounds of agreement between us.

R. Are we to understand that the only hope of co-operation with Sjt. Subhas Bose is that he should go out of the Congress?

G. Yes; I admire him as a great man and if he is out of the Congress, there will be more chances of co-operation with him than if he is inside the Congress.[1]

The Free Press Journal, 4-4-1941

[1] Gandhiji later stated that this report was a "mischievous distortion of a friendly conversation"; *vide* pp. 430-1.

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11, 1933; shifted to Madras on October 27, 1933; brought back to Poona on April 13, 1935; subsequently published from Ahmedabad.

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VISVABHARATI, Santiniketan.

CHRONOLOGY

(*September 12, 1940—April 15, 1941*)

September 12: Gandhiji arrived in Bombay; had informal discussions with Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Patel, Pandit Nehru and other members of the Congress Working Committee.

September 13: Attended Congress Working Committee meeting.

September 15 and *16:* Addressed A.I.C.C. meeting.

September 17: Attended Congress Working Committee meeting.

September 18: Attended Congress Working Committee meeting; left for Wardha.

September 19: Reached Wardha; walked to Sevagram.

September 20: C. Rajagopalachari arrived in Wardha to discuss with Gandhiji the future programme of the Congress in the light of the A.I.C.C. resolution.

September 25: Gandhiji left for Simla accompanied by Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal.

September 26: Arrived in Delhi in the morning; left for Simla in the evening.

September 27: At Simla, had a meeting with the Viceroy.

September 29: Met Harijan leaders

September 30: Interview with the Viceroy; left for Delhi.

October 1: In Delhi, had long talk with Bhulabhai Desai and J. B. Kripalani; attended a function at Harijan Colony to celebrate his 72nd birthday; left for Wardha.

October 2: In Sevagram, addressed meeting to celebrate his birthday.

October 10: Had discussion with Profulla Chandra Ghosh.

October 11: Attended the Congress Working Committee meeting

October 12 and 13*:* Attended Congress Working Committee meeting.

October 13: The Congress Working Committee approved Gandhiji's plan for individual civil disobedience. Gandhiji went to Paunar for discussion with Vinoba Bhave.

October 15: In Sevagram, issued statement that Vinoba Bhave would be the first satyagrahi to start individual civil disobedience.

October 17: At Paunar, Vinoba Bhave began the individual satyagraha by delivering anti-war speech.

October 18: The District Magistrate, Poona, served notice on the Editors of *Harijan*, and allied weeklies directing them to submit to the Chief Press Adviser in Delhi all the news regarding Vinoba Bhave's satyagraha before publication.

October 21: Vinoba Bhave was arrested under the Defence of India Act.
Gandhiji issued a statement advising Congressmen not to be impatient about the next step.

October 24: Announced the temporary suspension of *Harijan*, *Harijanbandhu* and *Harijan Sevak*.

October 30: Had seven hours' discussion with Jawaharlal Nehru.

November 4: Informed the Viceroy of his proposal to fast.

November 5: At Wardha, attended Congress Working Committee meeting.

November 6: Attended Congress Working Committee meeting. Gave up his proposed fast as Congress agreed to an extension of individual satyagraha.

November 7: Gave away Dr. Soundaram in marriage to G. Ramachandran. Attended Congress Working Committee meeting.

November 8: Attended Congress Working Committee meeting. Attended wedding of Sharad Parnerkar.

November 13: Drafted a list of nearly 1,500 individual satyagrahis.

November 15: Interview to Senanayake, Ceylonese Minister.

November 16: In telegram to Amtussalaam, said that he was "stopping civil disobedience [in] Sind".

November 17: Vallabhbhai Patel was arrested.

November 18: Arthur Moore of *The Statesman* met Gandhiji.

November 23: Gandhiji had discussion with Tai Chi-Tao, President of Examination Yuan of Chinese Government.

Before *November 24:* Interview to M. L. Shah, General Secretary, All-India Students' Federation.

November 29: In statement to the Press, Gandhiji exhorted students to express their national sympathy in a disciplined manner and not by resorting to strikes.

Before *December 3:* In telegram, instructed Rajendra Prasad to prevent demonstration in connection with civil disobedience movement.

December 5: Subhas Chandra Bose was released.

On or before *December 6:* In telegram to Barada Prasanna Pain, Gandhiji regretted his inability to recommend withdrawal of ban on Subhas Chandra Bose and Sarat Chandra Bose.

December 6: In statement to the Press, explained that Sampuran Singh's example was a warning to people that "empty and meaningless discipline" had no value.

December 7: In statement to the Press, appealed to people of Bombay "to revise their sporting code and erase from it communal matches".

Before *December 16:* In letter to Hansraj Radhar, a political worker from Jind, prohibited the State Congress from "civil disobedience, individual or mass".

December 17: Gave instuructions for suspension of satyagraha from December 24 to January 4.

December 20: In statement to the Press, called for suspension of "final judgment about Sardar Sampuran Singh's conduct".

December 21: Interview to Madras Delegation to All-India Students' Conference.

December 24: In letter to Hitler, Gandhiji appealed to him "in the name of humanity to stop the war".

Before *December 25:* In letter to Dunichand, laid down conditions for eligibility to offer satyagraha.

December 27: Invited Master Tara Singh, a prominent Akali leader, to meet him at Sevagram. (The invitee had resigned from the Congress following lengthy correspondence between him and Gandhiji on the question of non-violence.)

December 29: In letter to Subhas Chandra Bose, said: "As for your Bloc joining civil disobedience, I think, with the fundamental differences between you and me, it is not possible."

1941

January 5: Satyagraha was resumed after a break from December 24 to January 4.

January 10: In Sevagram, Gandhiji gave instructions to satyagrahis "that even as a resister courts imprisonment, he is expected to court any other form of punishment, i.e., fines".

On or after *January 10:* In message, asked the Punjab Congressmen to develop "a living faith in the virtue of non-violence for being chosen for civil disobedience".

January 11: Gave instructions for suspension of civil disobedience on 'Independence Day', i.e., January 26.
Interview to Prof. R. Coupland.

On or before *January 12:* In letter to Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Gandhiji permitted 'Red Shirts' to offer satyagraha in the Frontier Province.

January 12: In instructions to satyagrahis, announced that there would be no successor to Abul Kalam Azad and said: "... everyone who ... gets a short term should know that on every release, he has to repeat civil disobedience till the end of the struggle".

January 17: In Sevagram, blessed Vinoba Bhave, who offered civil disobedience for the second time after he was released on January 15.
Subhas Chandra Bose disappeared from his house in Elgin Road, Calcultta.

Before *January 23:* In message to Gujarat College students, Gandhiji said that they had every right to resort to strike if they failed to obtain justice through negotiations.

January 24: Exhorted Congressmen to observe rules of conduct even in matters "too trifling for attention".

January 28: In letter to newspaper editors, appealed to the Press "not to succumb to the gag but to assert its independence by publishing all the satyagraha news in its fullness".

Before *February 1:* In letter to Manoranjan Chaudhuri, declined to lead satyagraha movement against Muslim League Ministry of Bengal, as suggested by Bengal Hindu Mahasabha leaders.

February 4: Had discussion with Sarojini Naidu and J. B. Kripalani.

February 9: In letter to T. B. Sapru, refused to write to M.A. Jinnah unless the latter wanted "to come to some settlement".

February 10: In letter to *The Times of India*, said: "In spite of your disbelief, I must adhere to my faith in the possibility of the most debased human nature to respond to non-violence."

February 13: In message to Punjab Congressmen, stressed importance of constructive work.

February 16: In letter to Mukundalal Sircar, described differences with Subhas Chandra Bose as "vital and fundamental", and said: "Independence secured through violence would have contents different from that secured through non-violent means."
In letter to T. B. Sapru, expressed inability to meet M. A. Jinnah.

On or before *February 20:* In letter to P. V. Naidu, said that question of Congress partaking "in the reorganization of Central Government . . . would not arise so long as the Congress demand remained unconceded".

On or after *February 24:* Interview to Calcutta satyagrahis.

February 26: Gandhiji disallowed Maharajkumar of Vizianagaram to offer satyagraha as he did not fulfil all conditions of Satyagraha Pledge.

February 27: In Allahabad, put up at Anand Bhavan.

February 28: Visited Harijan Ashram; opened Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital; had discussion with Bengal Congress leaders on withdrawal of Bengal Congress Party from the Legislature; received deputation on behalf of Garhwal Harijans.
With Mahadev Desai called on T. B. Sapru at 8 p.m.; later met Madan Mohan Malaviya.

March 1: Addressed U. P. Provincial Students' Federation.
Called on Vijayalakshmi Pandit and Abul Kalam Azad in Naini Central Jail; at 11 a.m. left for Wardha.

March 2: Reached Sevagram.

March 4: Interview to Shankaran, Secretary, Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee.

March 6: In statement to the Press, Gandhiji warned people against "journalistic flights of imagination" about his meeting with T. B. Sapru and others in Allahabad.

March 7: In letter to Sir T. B. Sapru, agreed to suggestion to meet M. A. Jinnah, but expressed apprehension that time for communal settlement had not come.
In Sind, Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh was sworn in as Premier.

Before *March 10:* Gandhiji instructed Andhra and Tamil Nadu

Congress Committees not to take persons from districts into Madras city for offering satyagraha.

Before *March 11:* In telegram, urged Shibbanlal Saxena, satyagrahi prisoner in Benares Central Jail, to give up hunger-strike.

March 13-16: In Bombay, Non-Party Leaders' Conference was held under Presidentship of T. B. Sapru.

March 16: In Foreword to Jawaharlal Nehru's article, "The Parting of the Ways", Gandhiji said that the author had led the reader to the inevitable conclusion that independence could not be achieved without non-violence.

March 18: Appeal to C. F. Andrews Memorial Fund.

March 21: In appeal to Congress workers, hoped that they would devote their time to constructive programme during the National Week in April.

Before *March 23:* In message to M. R. Jayakar, said that while he was always ready "to meet old friends . . . he could not, without consultation with the members of the Working Committee, give them any assurance".

March 29: Proposal to resume publication of *Harijan* was countermanded on account of letter from the Government.
In *Sarvodaya*, Gandhiji reiterated his conviction that "in this long and arduous struggle, quality alone will count, never quantity".

April 1: In Sevagram, introduced practice of keeping personal diaries by inmates.

April 6: In message to Delhi Basic Education Conference, said: "Our experiment to be thorough has to be at least somewhere made without alloy and without outside interference".

April 7: In message to Mysore Congress, said that constructive programme "is the truest foundation for the swaraj for millions based on non-violence".
T. B. Sapru met Viceroy in Delhi.

April 8: In statement to the Press, Gandhiji said that report of his interview with Ruikar and Sircar was "a mischievous distortion of a friendly conversation".

INDEX

ERRATA

PAGE		FOR	READ
61	Footnote	1897	1879
127	Line 11	method seeking	method of seeking
356	Footnote 1, line 2	his	Gandhiji's
476	Entry for November 4	the Viceroy	Rameshwari Nehru